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# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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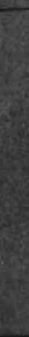
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<sup>1</sup> See *I*

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> P. 100

<sup>4</sup> *Harv.*

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<sup>7</sup> P. 162

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# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

APRIL, 1932.

## VIRGIL'S BIRTHPLACE REVISITED (*continued*).

WE may now consider this ancient evidence that Andes lay three miles away from Mantua in connection with Conway's remaining arguments and with Virgil's 'own statement' in his *Bucolics*.

In the matter of the inscriptions, Conway's 'impenitence'<sup>1</sup> does nothing to strengthen his case. All the points that he raises in an apparent refutation had been met by me.<sup>2</sup> I had distinguished between public and private inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> as Conway had not done in his earlier article, where he declared the period of the two monuments to be 'Virgil's own,' the inscriptions being 'cut in the style which marks the best work between 50 B.C. and A.D. 50.'<sup>4</sup> I had not, as he asserts,<sup>5</sup> failed to notice the point that caps the climax of his recent article, that 'the P. Magius who wrote the inscription of Casalpoglio . . . was related to Virgil's mother.'<sup>6</sup> I was inclined to date both inscriptions, with the approval of Professor Egbert, somewhere in the third quarter of the first century of our era,<sup>7</sup> but 'even allowing for them both a date as early as the end of the first century B.C.,' which is apparently as far back as Conway means to stretch their date,<sup>8</sup> I clamored for an inscription of the time of Virgil's birth if it were to serve as evidence for his birthplace.<sup>9</sup> This point is not met by Conway. If Virgil was born at Pietole, his fame and his family could certainly have extended as far north as Casalpoglio and Calvisano at the time of his death in 19 B.C. Supposing that we knew on other evidence that he was born at Calvisano, the presence of an inscription with the name of *Magius* or *Virgilius* would corroborate that evidence. The inscription by itself could hardly be used as primary proof, unless indeed its date were as early as that of the poet's birth, or unless it contained some obvious reference to him. But now that the evidence of antiquity—Probus and Suetonius-Donatus—makes for Pietole, the inscription which Jucundus found there clinches their evidence.<sup>10</sup>

Conway is prepared, he states,<sup>11</sup> to accept an impartial investigation of the text, and if the reading *triginta* is proved impossible on textual grounds 'to

<sup>1</sup> See *In Quest of Virgil's Birthplace*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 95 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> P. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *Harv. Lect.*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>5</sup> P. 76.

<sup>6</sup> On p. 95 I said: 'This inscription contains the name of Publius Magius, a member of the family of Virgil's mother.'

<sup>7</sup> P. 162, n. 63.

<sup>8</sup> P. 75. He leaves it 'with complete confidence' to the judgment of epigraphists to say

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whether the inscriptions can be plausibly assigned to any date later than A.D. 50 and whether a date B.C. is not far more likely. One competent epigraphist, Professor Egbert, has spoken. Perhaps others will disagree with his estimate. But I shall be greatly surprised, and wholesomely admonished, if the weight of authority favours a date as early as 70 (or 50) B.C.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>10</sup> See my statement on p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> P. 71.

seek a site somewhere nearer Mantua.' There must be a ridge stretching to the plains, he insists: there must be a view of mountains, and the land must stretch without interruption to some river-side—the Chiese, the Mincio, or the northern lagoon of Mantua. It must lie in some altitude where *fagi* could grow on the banks of the water. Still, one cannot get very far, he concludes, for the inscriptions at Calvisano and Casalpoglio hold one fast. Nothing, at any rate, can persuade him to move the farm as far as Pietole. If Probus had written 'three miles,' then he would have been in conflict with Virgil's own works.

I have endeavoured to present an impartial investigation of the text, which lands us in the reading 'three miles.' If that be accepted, along with *non procul*, one had better come all the way to Pietole than hunt for something new. The alternative, for which Conway is evidently ready, is to declare Probus wrong, since he is in conflict with Virgil—that is to say, with one interpretation of Virgil's pastoral descriptions.

On this subject, Conway's views have been considerably modified by the recent work of Léon Herrmann, *Les Masques et Les Visages dans les Bucoliques de Virgile*.<sup>1</sup> This scholar has conceived and, apparently to his own satisfaction, demonstrated the novel idea that each pastoral name in the *Bucolics* stands for one and only one historical person, contemporary with Virgil, and that the poet is giving us, therefore, an elaborate comedy of his times, with elaborate innuendo. I will confess that I have not read M. Herrmann's work through. I have read enough, however, to see what the rest of it must be like.

The author's first task is to make clear that the management of the eclogues is strictly chronological. For instance, *Ecl.* I. was written before *Ecl.* III., 'car celle-ci rappelle au v. 1 *Meliboeus*, au v. 3 le v. 74 de la 1<sup>re</sup> Bucolique.'<sup>2</sup> This is surely the same Meliboeus, since in both cases his flock is denied the attribute of *felicitas*. I am disturbed, however, by the consideration that in *Ecl.* I. although the flock is *infelix* at the moment, it was altogether prosperous *quondam*, i.e. before its master was dispossessed. In *Ecl.* III. it is *infelix* because its master was neglecting it for an amour with Neaera. But *felicitas* (the master's, not the flock's) apparently occurred before his eviction. Further, to answer this writer according to his wisdom, we may argue that this cannot be the same Meliboeus, since in *Ecl.* III. the flock is called *always* unhappy, whereas in *Ecl.* I. we find that it *had* been happy, once upon a time.

By arguments such as these, along with a clever manipulation of the real data—for M. Herrmann knows the ground—the chronological order of the eclogues is established. We may build on this firm foundation a little history of each of the characters in Virgil's comedy. This is Amaryllis, the beloved of Corydon, and she was fond of chestnuts, with which her swain wisely presented her.<sup>3</sup> Now she, by Herrmann's principle, is Amaryllis of *Ecl.* I., with whom Tityrus had a *liaison* after a less fortunate affair with Galatea, who made away

<sup>1</sup> *Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles*, I., 1930.

<sup>2</sup> III. 1: Dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus, an Meliboei? III. 3: Infelix o semper, oues,

pecus! I. 74: ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae. Cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> II. 52: castaneasque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat.

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<sup>1</sup> I. 81:  
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<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

with his hard-earned savings. Herrmann would have us note that it is precisely *chestnuts* that Tityrus offers to Meliboeus.<sup>1</sup> There is a touching little domestic tragedy here, which Herrmann only partly illuminates. Amaryllis had pulled Tityrus's estate together for him, but her fatal fondness for chestnuts, known to the wily Corydon, proved her undoing. Or was there some justice on her side? Was it quite right for the hospitable Tityrus to bestow upon the émigré Meliboeus a whole pile of chestnuts originally collected for her? This is not the whole history of Amaryllis, who, according to M. Herrmann, was most probably Plotia Heria,<sup>2</sup> with whom Virgil was said to have an amour—but it will be enough for most readers.

The other shepherdess in *Ecl. I.*, Galatea, is shepherdess throughout the *Eclogues*. M. Herrmann proves<sup>3</sup> there are not two (or more) Galateas, as the uninitiated might imagine, one of them a nymph. Virgil calls the maiden a nymph as a little joke, even as Horace does.<sup>4</sup> On the famous scene in the Third Eclogue, where Galatea runs to the willows

‘And hopes that she runs not unseen’

M. Herrmann observes:<sup>5</sup>

‘J’imagine que ce jour-là Galatea s’était baignée dans la rivière bordée des saules, derrière lesquels elle feignait de cacher sa nudité. Elle jouait donc encore à la naïade, bien qu’elle ne fût, comme peut-être Aeglé, qu’une mortelle audacieuse et lascive.’

Who shall say that the *Bucolics* makes stupid reading when treated to this new sort of allegorical interpretation? Galatea becomes *quelqu’une*. She was the mistress first of Tityrus (= Q. Caecilius Epirota), then of Corydon (Valgius Rufus), then of Damon (= Licinius Calvus), with whom she played nymph as above explained. He took a trip to Greece—here Horace helps us out<sup>6</sup>—with some high personage. Her station was that of a courtesan, and M. Herrmann is inclined to identify her—‘je serais tenté’—with a certain Servilia, the mistress of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus; her surname, or nickname, be it added, is Nais.<sup>7</sup> I should accept this identification as not merely probable but certain had not M. Herrmann overlooked an important clue. Q. Caecilius Epirota, a person of unsavoury reputation, was a freedman of Atticus and tutor to his daughter, the wife of Agrippa, with whom he anticipated the conduct of Abelard by more than ten centuries. He was a friend of Gallus—one reason why Gallus lost the Emperor’s favour—and after Gallus’s death he opened a school for boys where for the first time he taught Virgil and other modern poets.<sup>8</sup> Clearly, Galatea must be Agrippa’s wife, whose career thus rivals that of the Julias. Or seeing that the younger Julia was also married to Agrippa, is not Galatea she? Possibly we should have to rearrange a few dates to

<sup>1</sup> I. 81: *castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis*. I forget whether Herrmann has noted that the word comes in exactly the same place in the verse in *Ecl. II. 52*. Q.E.D.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> P. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Carm. III. 27*, though I confess I cannot see the joke.

<sup>5</sup> P. 145.

<sup>7</sup> Suet. *Nero* 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Suet. *Gram.* 16.

establish this coincidence, but M. Herrmann would be equal to the task. Unhappily he has not quite appreciated the significance of the Ninth Eclogue, where Menalcas (Virgil, of course) invites Galatea to leave the waves:<sup>1</sup>

huc ades, o Galatea; quis est nam ludus in undis?

These are not, however, the words of Virgil himself, but of Tityrus, who is addressed in 1. 23. It is Q. Caecilius Epirota speaking. He is reminding Agrippa's wife, who is taking a dip in the sea, that it is time for their lesson, or, as he puts it, 'How can I hold school (*ludus*) in the waves?' It further is significant that Tityrus is warned (l. 24) to steer clear of the butting goat. This is obviously Agrippa—and explains why the great general, when this allegory was explained to him, sought to embroil the poet and his patron.<sup>2</sup>

I will not pause for the evidence—as convincing as that which I have just manufactured—that Catullus is the hero (Daphnis) of the Fifth Eclogue<sup>3</sup>—it enabled us, incidentally, to discover the real date of Catullus's death—or for the proof that Meliboeus is P. Valerius Cato, who after eviction at Mantua began life again on the banks of the Galaesus—being obviously the old gardener of whom Virgil sings in the *Georgics*.<sup>4</sup> I will emphasize particularly the discovery that the *Bucolics* is a *Chronique Scandaleuse* in disguise, and regret that Ovid had not appreciated that fact when he penned his apology to the Emperor from Tomi. If Augustus had known how to read the *Eclogues*, Virgil might have ended his days in the same place.

I have dealt jocosely with M. Herrmann's work, since, on a charitable interpretation, it is the work of a wit *qui s'amuse*, in the fashion of Pope in Scribblers's notes on the *Dunciad*. But the book is the first of an apparently sober series published by the University of Brussels. If soberly intended, *Les Masques et Les Visages* should interest a psychoanalyst. He will discover in its author an acute case of identification-complex, which should prompt him soon either to rediscover the lost decades of Livy or to solve the Bacon-Shakespeare problem.

That a scholar like Conway can take any stock in such a work is past belief. He naturally does not agree with everything, but he finds that the main thesis (that each pastoral name stands for one historical character) is established with 'a considerable success.' So successful is it, in fact, that Conway believes that 'the evidence bearing directly on the question' of the site of Virgil's birthplace has been 'considerably diminished' as a result of Herrmann's work, and no longer ventures to find anything about the farm in the First Eclogue. I am sorry for that.

In the little book that described the quest of Virgil's birthplace, my treatment was so discursive and intermittent that I can hardly blame my friend for thinking<sup>5</sup> that I had not made up my mind between 'three different alternatives.' Let me speak clearly if I can. The most important consideration is

<sup>1</sup> L. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Donati*, ed. Brummer, *op. cit.*, p. 10, l. 180.

<sup>3</sup> P. 107.

<sup>4</sup> IV. 116-148.

<sup>5</sup> P. 67.

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<sup>2</sup> P. 67.

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what he calls the first alternative, the belief that the scenery of the *Bucolics* is Arcadian, derived primarily from Virgil's imagination, into which many elements have entered; some are derived from the poetry he had read, some from fair scenes he had visited elsewhere, some from the sights and sounds of his own countryside. There are doubtless local touches in the *Bucolics*—that is one of their charms—even though this feature was no guide to Virgil when he arranged his poems in their given order.<sup>1</sup> I quite agree with Conway's suggestion that if this is true it may be 'superfluous to write books in order to identify the farm'<sup>2</sup>—that is, on the basis of the description in the *Bucolics*. We have something else to do, however, than 'thankfully accept a mediaeval tradition as our only guide.' It is not our only guide. Our starting-point, as I hope I have shown, is ancient evidence of an external sort. Having fixed that, we may proceed to interpret Virgil.

The second alternative that confronted me was, after all, a literal interpretation of the lines in the Ninth Eclogue that describe the land apparently saved by Menalcas's songs as reaching from the point where the hills descend into the plain and reach to the old beeches by the water.<sup>3</sup> This seems like definite description of local scenery, such as appears in Virgil's Arcadia to give it the strength and sweetness of familiarity. But has Virgil his own farm in mind? Here is the point at which indeed I doubt. Here is where a different explanation may be in place. Following the ancient commentators, I suggested, as others have done,<sup>4</sup> that Virgil may be describing all the land that Mantua lost when Octavius Musa measured off fifteen miles of Mantuan territory and gave it to Cremona. That left for Mantua, as my calculation showed, just about three Roman miles, the amount that Alfenus Varus was instructed to leave, although that worthy cut down the citizens to their marshes.<sup>5</sup> The lines in the eclogue might well be applied to the whole stretch

<sup>1</sup> On this point see *The Magical Art of Virgil*, pp. 160-162. I would here apologize to Conway for misconceiving his views on the local element in the *Bucolics*. I am glad to find (p. 66) that not all the topics discussed in *Eclogues* with odd numbers were restricted to North Italy.

<sup>2</sup> P. 67.

<sup>3</sup> IX. 7: *Certe equidem audieram, qua se subducere colles | incipiunt mollique iugum demittere cliui, | usque ad aquam et ueteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos, | omnia carminibus uestrum seruasse Menalcas.*

<sup>4</sup> See *op. cit.*, pp. 113 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, with notes 74 and 75, which quote Servius on *Ecl.* IX. 7 and 10. Conway asserts (p. 68, note 1) that these passages in Servius are not so clear as I make them out, and that I disregarded his note on pp. 19, footnote, and 33-34. I had studied both places in his article carefully, but had not called attention to them, finding the obscurity there rather than in Servius. He also explains (p. 68, note 1) that his reason for not citing the alternate interpretation of Servius (*aut*

*Vergiliis tantum agrum, aut totius Mantuae esse descriptum*) was because it did not seem 'to contribute anything to our knowledge.' He finds the note *VESTRUM MENALCAN*: 'id est uestrum Vergilium cuius causa agri Mantuanis redditi sunt' obscure because if Servius meant '*omnis ager*' he ought not to have said merely *agri*. But the statement 'the Mantuans had their estate restored' seems general enough, especially with *agrum*. . . *totius Mantuae* in the note immediately preceding. Conway adds that if Servius did mean that, then he is wrong, since we know from the passage in the *Georgics* (II. 128), which I later quoted, that Mantua did lose some land after all. But Servius's comment is pointed at the situation in the Ninth Eclogue, not at the ultimate event. Menalcas had apparently saved *omnia carminibus* (whether *omnia* means all of Virgil's farm or all the Mantuan territory), but now the new injustice had been wrought and Moeris driven from his master's estate. Again it is Conway, not Servius, who confuses the account.

of Mantuan territory thus appropriated, the hills being those on the north and the water the lagoon about Mantua. Whether the lagoon extended to the north of the city at that time or not is immaterial.<sup>1</sup> Virgil's description is general, and adequate for his meaning. If this is the meaning, and the only meaning, of the passage, it tells us nothing of the scenery on the farm. Still, if the farm was at Pietole, it would certainly be 'on the firing-line' after the action of Octavius Musa, and it would have been 'gobbled up' by Alfenus Varus, since it lay outside the marshes. Conway argues that the farm lay in the territory between Mantua and Cremona, and that the land measured off from Cremona could not have extended to the farther side of Mantua.<sup>2</sup> I quite agree. Pietole lies to the south of the city and somewhat to the east, but it is not on the farther side. The natural limit of the measured land, north and south, is the River Mincio, and Pietole is on its western bank. The three-mile circle prescribed for Alfenus Varus would begin with the river on the north and stop at the river on the south—and the farm would be on the firing-line.<sup>3</sup>

Another literal interpretation of the lines in the Ninth Eclogue is that the poet means to paint an actual picture of his farm. So Servius in the first of his explanations. If this is so, the commentator's notes on Octavius Musa and Alfenus Varus lose nothing of their importance. They still show how much land was measured off and where. The farm itself now is described, and now as before is in the dangerous district. The question is whether the description of the farm can be accommodated to the landscape of Pietole.

I had the pleasure last summer, as I have said, of inspecting the ancient Pietole again under the able guidance of Professor Nardi and our genial host Avv. Hugo Prati. I cannot share Conway's conviction that under no circumstances could the farm have been located at Pietole. The elevation known as Mons Virgilii answers well enough to his *colles*, while the gravel that I had thought more appropriate for Carpenedolo than Pietole<sup>4</sup> was shown me—a glacial deposit it is—on the banks of the Mincio, which are likewise fringed with slimy reeds. Of course these details are taken from the First Eclogue;<sup>5</sup> the farm there described is now, at the wave of M. Herrmann's thyrsus, abandoned by Professor Conway to Q. Caecilius Epirota, or at least is denied

<sup>1</sup> Conway criticizes as 'vague and quite undocumented' the statement of Nardi that before the operations of Pitentino the only lagoon was to the south-east of Mantua (*Giov. d. Virg.*, p. 109). He will find plenty of documentation in the revised edition of this work translated by Mrs. Rand, pp. 130 sq.

<sup>2</sup> P. 66.

<sup>3</sup> One of Conway's remarks (*ibid.*) I fail to understand. 'We know,' he says, 'that Vergil himself, as a small boy, went to school at Cremona (not at Mantua), and this is less likely to have happened if his home was east of Mantua than if it lay somewhere west of it, on the Cremona side.' Just why? Did he trudge to and from school every day? If so, I will admit that he

had some distance to go from Pietole, some twenty-three miles away. But it was not much better at Carpenedolo, as he started off 'with shining, morning face' for a tramp of nearly seventeen miles from farm to schoolroom. I had always supposed that Virgil lived in Cremona, whether with his family or not, during his early schooldays. (Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae*, p. 2: *initia aetatis Cremonae egit usque ad virilem togam*.) I confess I do not get Conway's meaning.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> I. 46: *Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt | et tibi magna satis, quamuis lapis omnia nudus | limosoque palus obducit pascua iunco.*

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to Virgil. But the feeling of home is as strong in the First Eclogue as in the Ninth, and more beautifully expressed—small estate it is, but dear. We can find such a place more easily at Pietole than at Carpenedolo, where one travels *a mile and a quarter* from the ridge to get to the waters that bound the farm, i.e. the River Chiese, which Virgil nowhere mentions.<sup>1</sup> It is dangerous indeed to find suggestions of Virgil's farm in the Ninth Eclogue and not in the First. Conway is decidedly prejudiced against the scenery of Pietole. It still is to him 'dismally marshy'<sup>2</sup> and nothing more. I had hoped that at least the photographs shown in my little book would dispel something of this unfair indictment.<sup>3</sup> Of course the landscape of Pietole is no match for that in the *Eclogues*. But neither is that of Carpenedolo—not by a long shot. If memory serves me correctly, there is no view of distant mountains from Carpenedolo. One waits for Calvisano to get that, and even then not over impressively. At our first visit to Mantua, I was impressed with the appearance of distant mountains in a painting by Domenico Morone,<sup>4</sup> representing a scene in the city itself. The guide told me that the mountains beyond Verona could indeed be seen from Mantua. Of course I feared a Mantuan bringing information that might rebound to Pietole, but when, early in the morning of our visit with the Signori Prati, Nardi took me to the casement I had to believe my eyes. There they were on the horizon, the mountains beyond Verona, large and glistening clear. And later I saw them from the banks of the Mincio. Virgil did not have to stir from Pietole to know what mountains were.

One local touch was treated in a gingerly fashion by Conway in his earlier article, and he still does not seem to understand its importance—I mean the tomb of Bianor, founder of Mantua.<sup>5</sup> Moeris and Lycidas are trudging on to town, and at the half-way point the tomb of Bianor just comes into sight.<sup>6</sup> The *aequor* is silent, the breezes have ceased to murmur, and the younger shepherd suggests that they rest on a pile of leaves and sing. Or if there is fear of rain ere nightfall, let them go singing all the way; and to give his elder better voice for song he offers to ease him of his burden, the kids he has been carrying.

With Carpenedolo ever in mind, Conway remarks:<sup>7</sup> 'Surely no one can . . . suppose that the whole length of the journey . . . in the middle of which one of them begs for a rest is a distance of no more than two English miles.' He infers that Moeris has been on his journey since the beginning of the day,

<sup>1</sup> *In Quest of Virgil's Birthplace*, pp. 76 sq. Whatever else is true, no reader of the *Eclogues* can fail to feel that the farm was not too far from Virgil's beloved Mincio.

<sup>2</sup> P. 67.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 46-65. Other views that I took last summer are reproduced in Nardi's *Breve Guida al Paese Natio di Virgilio*, Mantua, 1930.

<sup>4</sup> P. 45.

<sup>5</sup> Conway (p. 70) rightly objects to my statement (p. 61) that 'Bianor was the founder of Mantua and is mentioned by Virgil elsewhere.'

The name occurs only here. In the other passage (*Aen.* X. 199) the name of the founder is given as Oenus, who in Servius's note is identified with Bianor. Since I supplied this information in n. 36, I hope no great harm was done by my careless statement.

<sup>6</sup> *Ecl.* IX. 60: *incipit apparere*. That means, according to Conway (p. 70), that it 'was to be seen from far.' How far? A mile away is far enough for the first sight of a monument.

<sup>7</sup> P. 69.

and that now it is presumably midday, 'when walking is harder without a breeze.'

The implications in this interpretation are almost comic. Lycidas does not 'beg for a rest'—'Really, my dear Moeris, I've got to sit down'—but he wants at all costs to get more song from Moeris, who after giving tantalizing bits of Menalcas's verse has said he is too old to sing more. So Lycidas points to the *aequor*, which is calm, and notes that there are no disturbing winds, and that there is a comfortable heap of leaves on which to sit down—'We'll get to town in time despite the interruption. So put the kids down, and let me listen.' These various temptations are artfully put, but the old man is determined to keep on. 'Well, then, let *me* carry the kids,' pleads the courteous Lycidas. 'Then you surely can sing for me.' 'No, no, my lad. Forward, march. Better our songs when the master has returned.'

I submit that for an old man bearing two kids a walk of even two miles to town is enough, and that if he had come full fourteen miles to the half-way point he would be only too glad to accept Lycidas's invitation. Conway, for once is inclined to think that Virgil is 'romancing'—to use his favourite expression—here, since the passage obviously echoes the familiar lines in the Seventh Idyll of Theocritus. I should say that he has cleverly made use of Theocritus for a local touch. However, courteously acceding to my apparent request for a literal explanation, Conway points out that in trigonometry one can see all the way from Carpenedolo to Mantua. But if woods and turns of the road intervene, what becomes of trigonometry? Surely his own experience will remind him that no monument of Mantua to-day, much less in Virgil's time, can be seen fourteen miles away on the road to Carpenedolo. What does *aequor* mean? He is ready to accept the explanation of Servius, which I favoured, that the Mantuan lagoon is meant. It could be seen for some distance—but hardly for fourteen miles! Conway plays safe by asserting that the words do not imply that the water was necessarily visible. Lycidas is appealing, he thinks, to the better evidence of the tree-tops, which, as I readily admit, were doubtless abundant there, and which gave no sign of stirring wind. He is reminding Moeris only incidentally, infers Conway, that the Mantuan lagoon, fourteen miles away, was also unruffled. If that is so, the lagoon is somewhat lugged in. And what, I ask, does *tibi* mean in the verse

et nunc omne tibi stratum silet aequor?

Virgil is not fond of otiose expression. *Tibi* is accompanied by a gesture. The shepherd points out the calm on the water as the breeze dies down. The time, I should infer, is near the quiet hour of sundown. I referred in my book to that half-way point on the road from Pietole, at which, of a sudden, the cathedral and other buildings of Mantua came into clear view across the lagoon.<sup>1</sup> I thought at once of the scene in the Ninth Eclogue. The tomb of Bianor could readily have been visible at that point. This scene has local

<sup>1</sup> P. 61.

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flavour, if anything in the *Eclogues* has. 'However these details may be judged,' remarks Conway,<sup>1</sup> 'the result for my purpose is unimportant.' Let us say that the result must be neglected, with an appeal to 'romancing' on Virgil's part, if one is determined at all costs to conduct Moeris to the city from Carpenedolo. Such treatment is extraordinarily *mal à propos* in an eclogue in which the other details, for Conway, are eminently local and which, in fact, should Probus's *triginta* fail him, furnishes the final evidence 'from Virgil's own statements' for his view.<sup>2</sup> This tomb of Bianor is very much in the way. One had better demolish it, as Conway tries to do.

I will leave further discussion of the site at Pietole to the real experts, those who know every inch of the ground in that region.<sup>3</sup> I would say merely by way of summary of my own views that local scenery is one element in Virgil's delightful Arcadia, and that it may be possible for us here and there to detect the spots that he describes, or by putting together various bits of description to picture the appearance of the farm of which he may (or may not) have been dispossessed and which may (or may not) have been his birthplace. That being my ultimate *credo* in the matter, there is no inconsistency in attempting, with the help of the ancient commentators, to find these definite pictures, and in not being disappointed if the search leads to no certainty. As to the *ager* described in the Ninth Eclogue, whether that of the poet or of his city, I would leave the matter, as Servius did (*aut . . . aut*).

There has recently appeared an important 'Note on Virgil, *Eclogues* I. and IX.,' by a most careful scholar, President A. S. Pease of Amherst College. He compares Virgil's methods with those of an admirable American poet, Robert Frost. Finding difficulty in identifying the scenery in the poem called 'The Mountain,' which describes a region well known to President Pease, he found from the poet that no photograph had been intended, but an ideal picture in which several Vermont and New Hampshire sites had been introduced, and that in other works of the poet there is a similar blending of scenery. President Pease aptly concludes that 'Virgil may have done the same thing,' and further that

'instead of describing, in allegorical guise, particular events in his own life and on his own farm, he combined, under the experiences of typical figures, such as Tityrus and Menalcas, bits of what he had observed in the region about him.'

The matter could not be better put. While, once more, the comparison of Virgil's landscape with the scenery about Mantua is a profitable topic of research, I am forced to conclude that my friend Conway's identification of Andes with Carpenedolo can never be established from Virgil's words, or

<sup>1</sup> P. 70.

<sup>2</sup> P. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nardi's *Breve Guida*, to which I have referred, his *Nuove Ricerche sul Paese Natale di Virgilio* (Estratto dal N. 2 di *Virgiliana*, Mantua, I. 2 [1930], 3-16), his review of *In Quest of Virgil's*

*Birthplace*, *ibid.*, I. 1, 28-29, and his forthcoming *La Tradizione Virgiliana di Pietole e suoi Fundamenti*—a review of Dal Zotto's *Vicus Andicus*—of which he kindly favoured me with an advance copy.

<sup>4</sup> *Classical Journal*, XXVI. (1931), 538-540.

from the other arguments that he has brought forward. He deserves the gratitude of scholars for raising the issue in so entertaining a fashion and for demonstrating the necessity of studying the scenery that the boy Virgil knew, if we would appreciate the nature of his pastorals. I hope that a clear majority of competent critics will decide this issue, which concerns not merely the place of the poet's birth but the character of his art, once for all. Virgil deserves his repose. *Nascatur in pace!*

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

E. K. RAND.

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## ANTONY'S LEGIONS.

IT is important to ascertain whether in the Actium campaign Antony really had only the small proportion of Italian legionaries sometimes assigned to him,<sup>1</sup> and this can only be done by analyzing his legionary figures from Philippi onwards. Unfortunately, though Appian is usually quite clear, he omits one figure at the very start, which prevents one treating the matter synthetically; so one must analyze backwards from Antony's legionary coins.

These coins were assigned by Grueber to 32-1 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> but they may have extended over more than two years. Grueber negated the view of de Salis, that they extended from 39 to 31, on the ground of their 'uniformity of type and similarity of fabric'; but this could be accounted for if, as indeed Grueber suggested, the whole were struck in one mint, while the historical reasons for thinking they began before 32 (though certainly not in 39) are strong. For J. Kromayer has shown, from the effect upon Octavian, that Antony's arming certainly belongs to the latter part of 35;<sup>3</sup> and I take it that all his new legions were in existence by spring 34, and that the coins started about that time. The coins show 30 legions, numbered 1 to 30; the series belonging to 8 legions, numbers 1 and 24-30, are rare,<sup>4</sup> those of the other 22 are common. The only explanation of this so far is Kromayer's:<sup>5</sup> the 8 rare series are the 8 new legions. This is improbable for many reasons: (a) the number 1 cannot well be a new legion; (b) three of the new legions are explicitly dated to summer 35,<sup>6</sup> so the 22 series which are common must then have been going on for many years previously, which I fancy no numismatist would accept; and (c) the question of the two legions completely destroyed by the Parthians in Media in 36. Two of the new legions must have replaced these two and borne the same numbers (for on the coins no numbers between 1 and 30 are missing); but as the coins know nothing of old or new, but merely give numbers, these two numbers should be as common as any, so the equation 8 rare series = 8 new legions breaks down. Apart from this, (a) seems decisive by itself. We must therefore start afresh—that is, the explanation of the 8 rare series must be not temporal, but geographical; it has to do with where the legions were stationed. From spring 36 onward the bulk of Antony's army was fighting somewhere in Asia;<sup>7</sup> we have to find 8 legions which were doing

<sup>1</sup> For example, J. Kromayer, *Hermes* XXXIII, 1898, p. 68, says that more than half his army was Graeco-Asiatic; T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire*, p. 147, says 'two-thirds of the legionaries were Orientals.'

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* II, 1910, p. 526.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 17 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Grueber, *ib.*, p. 528. Mr. H. Mattingly kindly informed me that this is still so.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 29; followed by V. Gardthausen, *Augustus*, I, i, p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> The three taken over from Sextus Pompey; App. B.C. V, 571, 598.

<sup>7</sup> 36: Parthian war; wintered in Syria. 35: campaign against Sextus Pompey; wintered in Syria. 34: conquest of Armenia; army stayed in Armenia, and was brought back about November, 33.

something else. One is clearly the legion left at Jerusalem in 37 with Herod,<sup>1</sup> and probably not withdrawn till 32, if then<sup>2</sup> (perhaps Herod paid it); and the other 7 can only represent the army of Macedonia, which must have had a separate organization; how completely it stood apart is shown by the fact that, after Appian ends, our remaining (inferior) sources, concerned with events in Asia, never mention it.<sup>3</sup> Prior to the Actium campaign, then, the army of Macedonia was presumably 7 legions (I will come to the question of the legionary numbers presently), and from this hypothesis, which we shall find that the story confirms, we can work backwards.

I assume, as everyone now does, that the number of legions Antony took to Media against the Parthians in 36 (including Canidius' force) was 16.<sup>4</sup> To make up this number he had in Asia the army Ventidius had had in 39 and 38, subsequently (38-7) commanded by Sosius, and Domitius' two legions in Bithynia.<sup>5</sup> Ventidius' army was 11 legions,<sup>6</sup> but one was detached in 37 and stationed at Jerusalem; at the end of 37, therefore, Antony had available in Asia 10 plus 2 legions only, and must have brought 4 from elsewhere.

To find these 4 legions we must go back to the state of things after the peace of Brundisium, when early in 39 Antony divided his army between his two best generals, sending Ventidius with 11 legions against Labienus and the Parthians, and Pollio with an unknown force against the Parthini and Illyria. After Pollio's successful campaign Antony divided Pollio's army (presumably this refers to the year 38), leaving part to watch the Parthini and the Dardaniens, and stationing part in Epirus.<sup>7</sup> He wanted 4 more legions for his Parthian campaign (which was meant to begin with an invasion of Armenia in 38, but could not), and sent for them to Africa,<sup>8</sup> not knowing that Lepidus had secured his 4 legions in Africa (these 4, therefore, do not have to be further considered). But as in 37 he *did* bring to Asia 4 more legions for his Parthian campaign of 36, these can only be the legions from Epirus, which had been stationed there to be handy;<sup>9</sup> and the rest of Pollio's army must be the 7 legions which continued to form the army of Macedonia; that is, early in 39 Antony had given to Pollio 11 legions, the same number as to Ventidius. After the peace of Brundisium, therefore, Antony had 22 legions of his own, besides the two which Domitius brought him shortly before the peace, and which after the peace were sent with Domitius to Bithynia.

I go back now to the Perusine war. At this time Antony had 13 legions in Italy under Ventidius, Pollio, and Plancus,<sup>10</sup> and 11 in Gaul under Calenus;<sup>11</sup> Appian is explicit that these were different forces.<sup>12</sup> Plancus' command was on a different footing from the rest; it formed no part of Antony's original

<sup>1</sup> Jos. *Ant.* XV, 72.

<sup>2</sup> If Plut. *Ant.* 71 be correct, it was still there in 30; but this is so unlikely that Plutarch must be taken to mean Herod's own troops.

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately Kromayer, *op. cit.*, also overlooked it, which affects some of his conclusions.

<sup>4</sup> The source-figures are fully discussed by Kromayer, *ib.*, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> For these two legions see App. V, 104, 233-4.

<sup>6</sup> Jos. *Ant.* XIV, 468 [16, 1], after Sosius took over.

<sup>7</sup> App. *B.C.* V. 320.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* 321.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* 320.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* 208.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.* 213, 215.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.* 213, ἄλλω δ' Ἀντωνίου στρατῷ.

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troops, but had been raised during the war by Fulvia.<sup>1</sup> Plancus lost 2 legions to Agrippa,<sup>2</sup> and the rest of his command was taken over by Ventidius,<sup>3</sup> giving Ventidius and Pollio 11 legions (13 minus 2) between them; of these, 7 were Pollio's (Vell. II, 76, 2). Octavian got Calenus' 11 legions.<sup>4</sup>

He was entitled to keep two of them, for after Philippi Antony had borrowed two from him, to be repaid from Calenus' force.<sup>5</sup> But it was the loss of the other 9 legions of Calenus which made Antony think of war;<sup>6</sup> consequently (though it is not recorded) the peace of Brundisium must have contained a provision that Octavian should return these 9 legions to Antony, for he certainly would not have made peace without them. But Octavian had given 6 of Antony's legions to Lepidus;<sup>7</sup> it will appear that these 6 were 4 of Calenus' and the two which Agrippa had taken from Plancus, and which were only new recruits. Octavian therefore could only give back 5 of Calenus' legions to Antony, and had to owe him 4. We know that he did owe 4, because after the peace of Tarentum he renewed his promise to pay Antony these 4 legions.<sup>8</sup> This proves that, of the 6 legions given by Octavian to Lepidus, Antony only claimed 4, and this in turn is only explicable if two of the 6—the two Antony did not claim—were Plancus'; Antony's reason was that Plancus' legions were not his (Antony's) own, but Fulvia's, and as between Fulvia and Octavian he held that Octavian was justified in what he had done. After the peace, then, Antony had (apart from Domitius' 2) 16 legions, i.e. 11 of Ventidius-Pollio and 5 once Calenus', returned to him by Octavian. (The 4 Octavian continued to owe him he never got, and they fall out of the story.) But we have seen already that he really had, not 16, but 22. The other 6 are accounted for by Appian's statement that before the peace Antony summoned to Italy his army from Macedonia;<sup>9</sup> early in 40, therefore, that army was 6 legions.

I go back now to Philippi. After the battle the two triumvirs kept on foot 11 legions, partly (it is not known how far) Cassius' men; Antony's share was 6, but he borrowed 2 more from Octavian, to be repaid out of Calenus' force (it has already been seen that they were repaid).<sup>10</sup> Part of these 8 legions he left in Macedonia with Censorinus to deal with Cassius' allies, the Parthini; Censorinus defeated the attempt of the Parthini to invade Macedonia, and triumphed January 1, 39.<sup>11</sup> The rest of these 8 legions Antony took with him to Asia; when late in 41 he went to Alexandria he left them in Syria with Saxa, and early in 40, when the Parthians invaded Syria, they were destroyed or (being Cassius' men) deserted to Labienus;<sup>12</sup> the Parthians got their eagles,<sup>13</sup> and these legions ceased to exist. It is here that Appian has the omission to which I referred; he does not say how Antony divided the 8 legions he kept

<sup>1</sup> App. B.C. V, 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 211.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 213-15.

<sup>5</sup> App. V, 14; Dio XLVIII, 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> App. V, 247.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* 223.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* 396, called 20,000 men. Plutarch, *Ant.* 35, says 2 legions, but this cannot stand against

Appian.

<sup>9</sup> App. V, 243.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* 13, 14.

<sup>11</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 24; *C.I.L.* 1, 2nd ed., p. 461; see V. Gardthausen, *Augustus* II, p. 236.

<sup>12</sup> App. V, 42; Dio XLVIII, 25, 2 sqq.

<sup>13</sup> *Mon. Ancy.* V, 40-3 (138).

after Philippi. We have now seen that Censorinus had 6 in Macedonia, so that 2 were lost with Saxa.

Thanks therefore to Appian's careful figures, the story, based on the hypothesis that before the Actium campaign the army of Macedonia consisted of 7 legions, is perfectly clear and consistent from 42 to 35; and this shows that the hypothesis of 7 legions in Macedonia is correct. From the peace of Brundisium, therefore, to 36 Antony had 24 legions (22 plus Domitius' 2); he lost 2 in Media in 36, and in 35 he got 3 from Sextus and raised 5 new ones, making the 30 of the legionary coins. It may be assumed that the 24 legions which he had from 40 onwards were numbered 1 to 24; of the 8 new ones of 35, two bore the numbers of the two lost in Media, and the other 6 were numbered 25 to 30.

I have supposed that 7 of the 8 rare series belonged to the army of Macedonia. But the 7 legions of that army had been in Macedonia (or Illyria) since 39; and 6 of the rare series, 25 to 30, must from the numbers be new legions. The deduction is that in winter 35-4 Antony brought 6 of the 7 veteran legions of Macedonia to Asia and replaced them in Macedonia by 6 new ones, numbers 25-30; Censorinus' 6 legions had presumably been at about full strength in 42, and in 35 the Macedonian legions were anyhow stronger than those which had been in the Parthian war. Numbers 1 and 24 were then the 7th legion in Macedonia and the legion at Jerusalem; which was which cannot be said.

I can now consider the Actium campaign. In spring 32 Antony had 22 old legions and 8 new ones. Of the old, the majority were his own veterans, going back to the armies of Censorinus, Pollio, Ventidius, and Calenus—veterans in fact, whether technically so or not; Domitius' 2 legions had anyhow seen 10 years' service; those originally of Plancus—probably 1, or 2 at the outside—had seen 8 years' service; the worst of them were by now seasoned troops. Naturally in 32 Antony would take the 19 best to Greece;<sup>1</sup> presumably therefore he took the 7 of the former army of Macedonia, which had suffered less than the rest, and 12 from the army which had invaded Parthia in 36, the best army, says Plutarch (*Ant.* 43), which that age saw. Of the 11 legions not in Greece, 4 were in Cyrene,<sup>2</sup> and the other 7 were divided between Alexandria, Syria, and Macedonia (for the northern frontier could not be left unguarded),<sup>3</sup> but in what proportions cannot be said. Of these 11 legions, the 8 new ones did contain many Greeks and Asiatics;<sup>4</sup> but that has nothing to do with the army Antony led against Octavian. The question here is, to what extent (if any) he made good, by incorporating new recruits, the losses which 12 of the legions of his army in Greece had suffered in the invasion of Parthia.

The 16 legions with Antony in Media in 36 totalled 60,000 men, or 3,750

<sup>1</sup> The number, 19, in Plut. *Ant.* 68 is the campaign total.

<sup>2</sup> The eighth was one; Grueber II, p. 583.

<sup>3</sup> Kromayer, who suggests 4 in Alexandria

and 3 in Syria (this has usually been followed since), has again forgotten Macedonia.

<sup>4</sup> On the epigraphic evidence see O. Cuntz, *Jahresh.* XXV, 1930, p. 70.

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to a legion, about three-quarter strength. His loss in this campaign was 37 per cent. all over, which for the 16 legions would be 22,200 men.<sup>1</sup> But two legions were annihilated; deducting these 7,500 men, we get a loss of 14,700 for the other 14 legions, or 12,600 for 12. But a disproportionate amount of fighting and loss must, in the nature of the case, have fallen on the cavalry and light-armed, and the cavalry is known to have lost 40 per cent. (4,000 out of 10,000); so the figure for the losses of 12 legions may be called 12,000. As Octavia in 35 brought him 2,000 picked Italian troops,<sup>2</sup> this meant that he would have had to raise 10,000 men to restore these 12 legions to their strength as at spring 36 (three-quarter strength).

A very simple calculation shows that he did not do so. The tradition that Octavian's infantry strength in the campaign was 80,000<sup>3</sup> must be taken as correct, for there is no reason to the contrary; the figure must have been well known, and no one had any interest in falsifying it. Even if we put his light-armed at an extremely low figure, this cannot mean over 75,000 legionaries; probably it really means about 72,000,<sup>4</sup> or conceivably even 70,000. Now Octavian could have brought far more legionaries had he wished—he had 45 legions by the end of 36—and therefore he brought only what he thought would suffice (they had to be fed by sea transport from Italy); but he was of course well informed concerning Antony's strength, and he must have given himself *some* margin; only a fool would have underrated Antony's veterans, and he was not a fool. Consequently Octavian's figures make it incredible that Antony could have had more than some 65,000 legionaries. But if Antony had restored these 12 legions to three-quarter strength, 3,750 men apiece, then, even if we take the 7 Macedonian legions as *low* as possible, say 4,000 men apiece, he would have had 73,000 legionaries as a minimum, and possibly more; and this simply will not do. Now to get 65,000 legionaries Antony only had to raise, not 10,000 men, but 2,000; these he could easily get from the Italians in the east—Caesar's colonies<sup>5</sup> and the very numerous traders. It is however far more probable that the legions who were going to the front were not adulterated at all, and that his real legionary force was 63,000 or thereabouts,<sup>6</sup> all well-seasoned Italian troops; and this becomes almost certain when it is remembered that his master Caesar never adulterated veteran legions, however low their numbers had become. I may note here that for the battle of Actium each commander shipped anything from 35,000 to 40,000 legionaries. Octavian shipped 8 legions and 5 cohorts.<sup>7</sup> Antony's fleet, excluding Cleopatra's squadron which was manned by her own mercenaries, was some 340 ships of the line, not far from the average power of a

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 50, 51; Kromayer. *op. cit.*, p. 27. The percentage follows from Plutarch's figures, the Armenian contingent being first deducted from Antony's total force.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 61.

<sup>4</sup> Crassus in 53 took 4,000 light-armed to 35,000 legionaries, and Octavian knew that

Antony would be tolerably strong in light-armed.

<sup>5</sup> As Sextus enrolled Italians from Caesar's colony at Lampsacus, App. V, 570.

<sup>6</sup> The exact figure depends on the (unknown) strength of the 7 Macedonian legions. Possibly his aim was 60,000, the same figure as against Parthia.

<sup>7</sup> Orosius VI, 19, 8 (*i.e.* Livy).

quinquereme, and a quinquereme carried 100-130 troops; this would give him about the same force, more than half of his legionaries. The 20,000 legionaries whom Plutarch says he shipped obviously relate, like Livy's 170 ships, to his right wing only, his own command.<sup>1</sup>

It follows that, in the Actium campaign, Antony had not 100,000 infantry, as Plutarch (*Ant.* 61) says, for certainly the client-kings did not bring some 35,000 foot; their primary business was to supply cavalry, and even of that they only brought small contingents (*post*); Antony, whose army was fed from Egypt, had to consider the question of supply as carefully as Octavian. He possibly did have more light-armed than his rival;<sup>2</sup> but if we suppose an infantry total of 75,000, more or less, we are nearer the mark than Plutarch is. There can have been no question of Octavian being outnumbered.

In conclusion, I may formulate the problem of Antony's cavalry, as it has never been stated and is, I think, insoluble. He kept 10,000 horse after Philippi,<sup>3</sup> and took part to Asia with him, but how much cannot be said.<sup>4</sup> In the Perusine war Ventidius and his other generals had 6,500 horse;<sup>5</sup> whether part of this was part of the 10,000, and how much of it Antony ultimately secured, is unknown; he must have kept a cavalry force with the army in Macedonia, even if small, and must have had some loss in the battles of Saxa and Ventidius. In 36 he took to Media 10,000 Gallic and Spanish horse of his own,<sup>6</sup> that is of his original cavalry; as he needed all the cavalry he could get, and as he left Syria and Asia Minor bare of troops, he probably now had no more, unless in Macedonia. Of this 10,000 he brought back 6,000 only.<sup>7</sup> Now in the Actium campaign Plutarch gives him 12,000 horse of his own, and *in addition*, it seems, the armies of the client-kings.<sup>8</sup> He could perhaps have recruited some cavalry outside their domains, in Thrace, Macedonia, Roman Syria; but for a generation the East had been drained, and it is extremely unlikely that he could have raised his own total to 12,000. Of the four chief client-kings, Amyntas of Galatia brought 2,000 horse;<sup>9</sup> doubtless Archelaos of Cappadocia was called on for the same figure; Polemon of Pontus could only send a small force, as he was guarding the Upper Euphrates against a hostile Armenia, but he and the smaller dynasts from Thrace, Paphlagonia, the Amanus, and Emesa, could certainly send another 2,000;<sup>10</sup> Herod and his

<sup>1</sup> See for all this Tarn, *The Battle of Actium*, J.R.S. XXI, 1931, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> For the invasion of Parthia, Antony, besides legionaries, his own cavalry, and the 16,000 Armenian horse, had 14,000 men to cover his own light-armed and the cavalry and light-armed of the client-kings (Plut. *Ant.* 37). As the client-kings supplied 6,000 horse to the army of Actium (*post*), it follows that that army's light-armed could not well exceed 10,000-12,000 at the very outside. Perhaps both sides had about 10,000.

<sup>3</sup> App. V, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Only mentioned in the raid on Palmyra, *ib.* 37, 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 208.

<sup>6</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* 50.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* 61.

<sup>9</sup> Horace, *Epode* IX, 17-18.

<sup>10</sup> I omit the supposed Median cavalry, though it appears in Plutarch's list of auxiliaries (*Ant.* 61). Dio XLIX, 44 says that in 33 Antony exchanged some troops with the Median king, but subsequently withdrew his own men without returning his cavalry to the Mede; yet he asks us to believe that, notwithstanding this treachery, the Mede remained faithful to Antony and his interests (LI, 5, 5). As Antony had officially accused Octavian of not giving him the legions promised him at Tarentum in exchange for the ships he had given (Plut. *Ant.* 55), Dio's story probably represents an attempt of someone to

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army were not there. It seems then that, if Plutarch be right, Antony had 18,000 horse or over—12,000 of his own and at least 6,000 of the client-kings—and this seems inconceivable; for in the two critical cavalry battles he was defeated each time by Octavian's 12,000 horse, and on the second occasion the defection of Amyntas and his 2,000 Galatians sufficed to decide the day.<sup>1</sup> It seems then that Plutarch must have reckoned the cavalry of the client-kings twice over; the scheme in his source may have been that Antony had 12,000 all told—6,000 of his own, brought back from Media, and 6,000 of the client-kings. But even this would not end the difficulty; for Antony had left some cavalry in Alexandria,<sup>2</sup> and he can hardly have left none in Syria, even if he trusted that the rebel Tiridates and the king of Media would between them hold Parthia. Perhaps he had more cavalry left in spring 36 than 10,000; perhaps he did raise some before 32 by recruiting; perhaps 12,000 in Greece (including client-kings) is a true total. But we have not really the material to say.

To sum up. In the Actium campaign, the legionaries of Antony's army in Greece were all Italians and almost certainly all seasoned Italian troops. The light-armed and cavalry were of course not Italians, but nothing turns on this, as Octavian's cavalry and light-armed, or the bulk of them, would not be Italians either. The only Greeks and Asiatics Antony had, apart from rowers, would be perhaps some 4,000 horse<sup>3</sup> and an unknown number of his light-armed. Pictures of Antony meeting Octavian at the head of a motley half-Asiatic army do not belong to history.

W. W. TARN.

#### INVERNESS.

show that Antony had done much the same thing; it is on a level with the two untrue propaganda stories (charge and countercharge) that Octavian had incited Artavasdes' treachery to Antony, and that Antony had then captured Artavasdes by treachery himself. The methods of Graeco-Roman propaganda, though vigorous,

were primitive.

<sup>1</sup> Horace, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 71 implies that what horse Antony had there in 30 was his own, not Cleopatra's.

<sup>3</sup> Assuming 12,000 horse, of which 6,000 were Antony's own (Gauls and Spaniards) and 2,000 were Galatians.

# MISCELLANEA—IX.

I. HESIOD, fr. 96 (*pap. Berol.* 10560). This long fragment, which was published by Schubart and v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in the *Berliner Klassikertexte*, 1907, and reprinted by Rzach in the *Hesiods* of 1908 and 1913, has hardly received the attention it deserves. I give the portion on which I comment:

- 56 ἡ τέκεν Ἑρμιόνην καλλίσφυρον ἐν μεγάροισιν  
 ἀελπτον· πάντες δὲ θεοὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔθεντο  
 ἐξ ἔριδος· δὴ γὰρ τότε μήδετο θέσκελα ἔργα  
 Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, μείξαι κάτ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν  
 60 τυρβάξας, ἥδη δὲ γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων  
 πολλὸν αἰστώσαι, τῶν δὲ πρόφασιν μὲν ὀλέσσαι  
 ψυχὰς ἡμιθέω[ν ἵνα μὴ δειλ]οῖσι βροτοῖσι  
 τέκνα θεῶν μι[γέη χάριν ὅφ]θαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶντα,  
 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν μάκαρες [καὶ ἐς ὕστερον] ὥς τὸ πάρος περ  
 65 χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων [βίοτον κα]ὶ ἦθε' ἔχουσιν.  
 τ[ῷ] μάλα δάμνατο φύλα κατα]θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ]μ ἄλγος επαλγεῖν [*sic*]  
 Ζεὺς[ ]ωας ἔκερσε  
 ο[ ]ερ. ζει  
 70 ]πὶ μαστῷ  
 ]μηδέ τις ἀνδρῶν  
 νηῶν δὲ ]μελαινάνων ἐπι βαίῃ  
 χερσὶν τε β[ ]ίηφί τε φέρτατος εἶναι  
 ]ε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
 75 [ὅσσα δ' ἔην ὅσα τ' ε]στὶ καὶ ὀππόσα μέλλει ἔσεσθαι  
 [πᾶσι θεμιστεύων μέγ]α μῆδεται ἡδὲ γεραίρει  
 [βουλὰς πατρὸς ἐοῖο] Διὸς νεφεληγερέτοιο  
 [οὐ γ]ά[ρ] τις σ[ά]φα ἦδε' ὅτι φράσσασθαι ἔμελλεν  
 [οὔτε θ]εῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 80 παμπ[ό]λλας αἶδη κεφαλὰς ἀπὸ χαλκὸν ἰάψ[ει]ν  
 ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων ἐν δημοτῇτι πεσόντων.

I print without notice the editors' supplements and add my comments.

59 = καταμείξαι. 63 μιγέη Rzach; χάριν, since κάλλος and εἶδος are unmetrical. The daughters of men required some attraction in the eyes of the τέκνα θεῶν. 66 so perhaps. 69 ? ἔραξε, as 87. 70 ? μὴ παῖς ἐπὶ μαστῷ. 72 νηῶν δέ, not τε. 73 εὔχετο μὲν, or εὐχόμενος. 74 ? οὐρανίωνων ἢ or ἡδέ. 75 Ἀπόλλων· ὅσα δ', since Apollo must be introduced. 80 χαλκὸν is subject. For φράζεσθαι with verb cf. *h. Apoll.* 402, Callim. *Hec.* 34. 38.

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- 82 ἀλλ' οὐπω τότε πατὴρ ἐπὶ σθάμετο φρενὸς ὀρμήν  
οἶα τε κῆρ' ἀλεείνουντες σφετέροισι τέκεσσι  
]ε[ ]ποντ' ἀνθρώποι, πρᾶπίδων δ' ἐπετέρπετ' ἐρωῇ
- 85 πατὴρ ἐρισθενέος μεγάλ' ἀνδράσι μῆδομένοιο.  
πολλὰ δ' ἀπὸ βλωθρῶν δένδρων ἀμύνοντα χαμάζε  
χεύετο καλὰ πέτῃλα, ῥέεσκε δὲ καρπὸς ἔραζε  
πνείοντος βορέας περιζαμένους Διὸς αἴση.  
ἔξεσκε δὲ θάλασσα, τρώμεσκε δὲ πάντ' ἀπὸ τοιοῦ,
- 90 τρύχεσκε δὲ μένος βρότεον, μινύθεσκε δὲ καρπὸς  
ῶρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ ὅτε τ' ἄτριχος οὖρεσι τίκτει  
γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι τρίτῳ ἔτει τρία τέκνα.  
ἔαρο]ς μὲν κατ' ἕρος καὶ ἀνὰ δρυμὰ πυκνὰ καὶ ὕλην  
εἰσι]ν ἀλυσκάζων καὶ ἀπεχθαίρων πάτον ἀνδρῶν
- 95 ἄγχεα καὶ κνημοὺς κατα]λώμενος ἤματα πάντα.]  
χειμῶνος δ' ἐπιόντος ὑπὸ[  
κεῖται πόλλ' ἐπιεσσάμενος ἐ[ ]φύλλα  
δεινὸς ὄφιν κατὰ νῶτα δα[φοινὸς  
ἀλλὰ μιν ὑβριστήν τε καὶ[
- 100 κῆλα Διὸς δαμνᾷ φημ[  
ψυχὴ τοῦ γ' οἷα καταλείπεται  
ἢ δ' ἄμφ' αὐτόχυτον θαλαμ[ην τρίζουσα  
ἡβαιήν ε[ ]τειρα κατὰ χθ[ονὸς  
εἰσιν ἀμαυρωθεῖσα ποθ[ω ?

84 not *τέρποντ'* with *ἐπετέρπετ'* in the same line; and what is the sense? perhaps *ἔλποντ'*. Keep δ' (*φαρ.*) after *πρᾶπίδων*. 94 *εἰσιν*, not *ἦεν*: so 104, 126. 95, so perhaps 102, *θαλάμην*, not *θάλαμον*, cf. ε 432 Hesych. *θαλάμη · τρώγλη*. 103 after *ἡβαιήν* we want *ἐ[λέ]τειρα* (not found) or *ὀ[λέ]τειρα*, cf. *ἀνδρολέτειρα* in Aeschylus, *ὀλέτειρα* in late Greek, *ὀλετήρα* Σ 114. We dispense with *ποτᾶται* 102 (? *ποτῆσιν*).

We open with a list of the suitors for Helen, of whom Menelaus prevailed *πλεῖστα πορών*, and because Achilles was with Chiron on the mountain. The poet announces the birth of Hermione, and in the same line the divine reason for the Trojan war. This was to diminish the population of the earth, and on that account (*τῶν πρόφασιν*) the heroes were to be destroyed to prevent marriages of gods and mortals, that the gods might live as aforetime by themselves. This design of Zeus (to lower the population) appears in the Cypria, fr. 1, but there the motive is pity for mankind: l. 3 *Ζεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐλέησε καὶ ἐν πυκιναῖς πρᾶπίδεσσι | σύνθετο κουφίσαι ἀνθρώπων παμβώτορα γαῖαν | ῥιπίσσας πολέμου μεγάλην ἔριν Ἰλιακοῖο*. Apollodorus, *ἐπιτ.* 3. 1, gives a choice of motives to glorify Helen *ἢ καθάπερ ἄλλοι (ἴνα) τὸ τῶν ἡμιθέων γένος ἀρθῇ* (= *ὀλέσσας* above). The loss of life in the Trojan war and the disappearance of dynasties required these explanations in the Greek mind.

The next lines, very deficient, seem to describe the sufferings of the

Trojans, as regards successively children, men, and women. After this, with equal abruptness, we come to an unnamed personage in the present tense, who according to 82 ἀλλ' οὐπω τότε πατὴρ ἐπὶ σθάνετο φρενὸς ὁρμήν seems to be Apollo. His name must be introduced somewhere, perhaps in 76 as αὐτὸς ὁ Φοῖβος μὲν or δὴ; but Rzach's πᾶσι θεμιστεύων from *h. Apoll.* 75, 115, is neat and provides construction. I therefore attempt to put it into 75. Why Apollo intervenes is not clear. Did Zeus use him to advertise the war? Agamemnon consulted him η 79. Then we have the astonishing statement in 82 (above) that Apollo did not yet then perceive the current of his father's mind, nor what mankind avoiding death (hope?)<sup>1</sup> for their children, but he rejoiced in the flow of his father's mind. Apollo did not yet understand either Zeus or men; he obeyed the ὁρμή, ἐρωή, which came upon him. He was a mouthpiece, like the later Pythia. This is strange, and very different from the confidence of *h. Apoll.* 131 εἴη μοι κίθαρις τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα, | χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν.

There is stranger to come. The earth, apparently after the war, was desolate, the fruit fell to the ground in the north wind; it was like the famine sent by Demeter (*hymn* 305-9). The crop withered in the spring when the hairless one on the hills bears three young in the third year in a hole in the earth. Then follows a description of the habits of the reptile—a fierce snake spotted on its back; it is slain by the bolts of Zeus, but its soul flits by itself shrieking round its self-delved hole. This is another of the great reptiles dear to old Greek poetry. It resembles the maneater of *h. Apoll.* 304 in being spotted and needing a god to kill it. It is also smooth, scaly, for this is what ἄτριχος means. Antig. Caryst. 76 τρίχας δὲ ἔχει τῶν ζώων ὅσα πεζὰ καὶ ζωτόκα, φολίδας δὲ ὅσα πεζὰ καὶ ψοτόκα. Hesych. ψιλόν . . . ἄτριχον καὶ ἀποδεδαρμένον. (Another form is ἄθριξ, Crinagoras *Anth. Pal.* VII. 401. 7 ἄτριχα καὶ κορσύν.) The adjective therefore means φολιδωτός, as Apio took φοινήμεντα δράκοντα M 202 to mean λεπιδωτόν. The poet must have known this, but he none the less proceeds to etymologize the epithet on a basis of τρι- (τρίτῳ ἔτει τρία τέκνα) as he etymologizes τριχαίκες fr. 191 πάντες δὲ τριχαίκες καλέονται | τρισσὴν οὐνεκα γαῖαν ἐκάς πάτρας ἐδάσαντο, and the author of the hymn to Dionysus derived trieteris, ὥς δὲ τάμεν (τὰ μὲν MS.) τρία σοὶ πάντως τριετηρίσιν αἰεὶ | ἄνθρωποι ῥέξουσιν τελέεσσας ἐκατόμβας. The ootoca lay young not in threes but in enormous quantities, but, as I am assured on high authority the Pythonidae never existed in Greece, this inaccuracy is of minor importance. There are many other plays on τρι-. Musaeus, fr. 3, in Plutarch, *Marius* 36 of the eagle ὅς τρία μὲν τίκτει δύο δ' ἐκλέπει ἐν δ' ἀλεγίζει, but as Plutarch observes the eagle bears only two. Antigonius 151 ἐν τῇ πλησίον Ἰόππης οὐ μόνον ἐπινήχσθαι πᾶν βάρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τρίτον ἔτος φέρειν ὑγρὰν ἀσφαλτον· ὅταν δὲ γίγνηται τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς ἐντὸς τριάκοντα σταδίων οἰκοῦσιν ἰοῦσθαι χαλκώματα. Diodorus *ap. Phot. bibl.* 389b 28, etymology of Triocala in Sicily: Τριόκαλα δὲ αὐτὸ φασιν ὠνομάσθαι διὰ τὸ τρία καλὰ ἔχειν.

<sup>1</sup> 'Lay up,'? but I cannot think of the Greek word



2. *h. Apoll.* 250:

ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πείραν ἔχουσιν  
ἡδ' ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτους κατὰ νήσους.

These lines have not caught the attention of the commentators, who presumably thought they explained themselves. But what of *κατά*? On the face of it *παρέλκει*. Rather than say that, we must regard it as a case of retrospective tmesis; that is to say in prose we should write *πείραν κατέχουσιν* and *ἀμφιρύτους κατέχουσιν νήσους*. In *C.Q.* 1931, p. 147, I gave a case of prospective tmesis (*η* 69).

ὥς κείνη περὶ κῆρι τετίμηται τε καὶ ἔστιν.<sup>1</sup>

This is the converse. Two examples somewhat similar are given in Kühner-Gerth I., p. 531, n. 1, viz. Σ 535 ἐν δ' ἔρις ἐν δὲ κυδοιμὸς ὁμίλειον ἐν δ' ὁλοή κῆρ, Hesiod, *Scut.* 156 ἐν δ' ἔρις ἐν δὲ κυδοιμὸς ἐθύνειον ἐν δ' ὁλοή κῆρ. I add another curious case: Hesiod, *Scut.* 149 σχετλίη ἥ ῥα νοόν τε καὶ ἐκ φρένας εἵλετο φωτῶν. *Κατέχειν* of places is usual.

The application of the same figure simplifies another passage in the same hymn:

418 ἄλλ' οὐ πηδαλίοισιν ἐπείθετο νηὺς εὐεργής,  
ἀλλὰ παρέκ Πελοπόννησον πείραν ἔχουσα  
ἡ' ὁδόν.

It is usual to take *ἔχουσα* intransitive as a qualificative of *ἡμε*, a virtual adverb; but if we compare *παρεξάγω*, *παρέξειμι*, *παρεξελαύνω*, *παρεξέρχομαι* and unite *παρεξέχουσα*, 'keeping or leaving on one side,' we get a genuine construction. Else even *έκούσα* has been proposed.

3. *Theognis* 143:

οὐδείς πω ξείνον Πολυπαῖδη ἐξαπατήσας  
οὐδ' ἰκέτην θνητῶν ἀθανάτους ἔλαθεν.

Οὐδείς θνητῶν and the whole distich is inoffensive, but *ἰκέτην* and the balance of the couplet seem to require another verb. You deceive your friend, your suppliant you put to death, as Cylon was. Take *θνητῶν* as participle of *θνητοῦν* = *θανατοῦν*, and compare *φιλοῦν* from *φίλος* in *C.Q.* 1930, p. 190, *διχοῦν* from *δίχα* (*ἐδιχώθη* Hippocrates I. 511. 2, Kühn). The word was chosen for its juxtaposition to *ἀθανάτων*.

4. *Theognis* 295:

κωτίλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ σιγᾶν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος,  
φθεγγόμενος δ' ἀδαῆς οἷσι παρῇ μελετᾷ.

'Αδαῆς, 'untaught,' is an excellent word; the bore is 'untaught to speak,' for which use of the participle there is no exact parallel, or 'speaking untaught,' quasi-adverbially.

*Μελετᾷ* is absolute, 'holds forth,' οἷσι *dativus incommodi* as well as with *παρῇ*; 'he performs for those he meets.'

<sup>1</sup> Where I see that this explanation was one of those before Merry and Riddell.

## 5. Theognis 338:

Ζεὺς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δόλη τίσιν οἷ με φιλεῦσιν  
τῶν τ' ἐχθρῶν μείζον, Κύρνε, δυνησόμενον.

Another participle apparently for infinitive. Isocrates XII. 170 ἡ πόλις οὐκ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψει παραβαίνουσι τὸν νόμον is somewhat similar. There was much Greek that has not come down to us. Diehl seems to imply this interpretation.

## 6. Theognis 731:

Ζεῦ πάτερ εἴθε γένοιτο θεοῖς φίλα τοῖς μὲν ἀλτροῖς  
ὑβριν ἀδεῖν καὶ σφιν τοῦτο γένοιτο φίλον  
θυμῷ, σχέτλια ἔργα ἱδιατὰ φρεσὶ δ' ὅστις ἰαθήνης  
ἐργάζοιτο θεῶν μηδὲν ὀπιζόμενος  
αὐτὸν ἔπειτα πάλιν τείσαι κακά.

In v. 733 the Paris MS. (s. X) has διατάφρεσι, the others μετά. διατά of course = <sup>δια</sup>μετά, and διὰ—ἐργάζοιτο = διεργάζοιτο by tmesis. Polybius III. 7. 3 is quoted for κακὰ διεργάζεσθαι, 'accomplisheth.' δ' in the fifth place connects the second clause, and ἀπηνής is the gentlest correction of ἀθήνης.

Another tmesis stares one in the face at 1008 sq.:

οὐ γὰρ ἀνηβᾶν  
δὲς πέλεται πρὸς θεῶν, οὐδὲ λύσις θανάτου  
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, κακὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἐλέγχει  
οὐλόμενον, κεφαλῆς δ' ἄπτεται ἀκροτάτης.

'Ἐπελέγχει' 'finds him out,' *obvenit non intellecta*. The compound occurs in Diogenes Laert. VI. 67 of a verbal argument.

## 7. Theognis 827:

ἧ τε [ῆ γῆ] τρέφει καρποῖσιν ἐν εἰλαπίναις φορέοντας  
ξανθῆσιν τε κόμαις πορφύρεους στεφάνους.

The first four words ἧ τε τρέφει καρποῖσιν, 'which feeds on its fruit,' go well, but are succeeded by a false antithesis 'who wear at feasts and on their yellow hair red crowns.' This zeugma was evident to the excellent Theodore, who thought a line or so had fallen out.

Καρπός in Greek means 'crops' and 'wrist.' If we take the latter word the balance is good: 'who wear on their wrists and yellow hair red crowns.' I find no statement that the ancients wore garlands on their wrists or arms; but Athenaeus 669c sqq. and our old friends Gallus and Charicles say that they wore them round their necks as well as on their heads (Verres wore one in either place), and even round their στήθη (ἐπεὶ αὐτόθι ἡ καρδία). From στήθη it is not far to the arms; and Indians at the present day wear bracelets of flowers round their wrists. At Trimalchio's banquet (70) guests had their feet anointed after their legs and heels had been twined with garlands. This seems a caricature of Theognis' picture, which may have been a Dorian custom. Otho showed Nero how to dye the feet (Pliny, N.H. XIII. 22).

## 8. Tyrtaeus VIII. 15 :

οὐδεὶς ἂν ποτε ταῦτα λέγων ἀνύσειεν ἕκαστα  
 ὅσσ' ἦν αἰσχροῦ πάθη γίγνεται ἀνδρὶ κακά.  
 ἀργαλέον γὰρ ὅπισθε μετάφρενον ἔστι δαίρειν  
 ἀνδρὸς φεύγοντος δαίφ' ἐν πολέμῳ.

'Αργαλέον gives the exact opposite of the sense required, which, as a half-hearted conjecture (ῥηίδιον) quoted by Diehl shows, is 'easy.' Ahrens' ἀρπαλέον does not help us.

There is a word ἀεργηλός used by a melic writer quoted by Plutarch (Diehl, *frag. mel. chor.* 13) νυκτὸς αἰδνᾶς ἀεργηλοῖο θ' ὕπνον κοίρανος, otherwise Alexandrian (Ap. Rhod. and Nicander). This apparently gives the meaning wanted, 'unlaborious,' 'idle.' We may therefore read without much violence ἀεργηλέον, or with synizesis ἀργηλέον, or, since ἐργαλεῖον shows there were derivatives from ἔργον in -αλ-, why not ἀργαλέον as it stands in Stobaeus, that is, a different word in identical letters?

9. Macrobius I. 7. 10 *tum ille . . . uerum sponte irruere in conuiuium aliis praeparatum nec Homero sine nota uel in fratre memoratum est, et uide ne nimium arroganter tres tibi uelis Menelaos contigisse cum ille tanto regi unus euenerit.*

This curious passage I translate: 'to burst into an entertainment intended for others Homer did not mention without censure even in the case of a brother; and I am afraid you will bring three Menelauses upon yourself, whereas only one was the fate of the king.' The gatecrasher was Menelaus, as the reader of one MS. saw who wrote *menelao* for *homero*, and the brother Agamemnon. The case was older than Plato, *Symp.* 174C, who plays on the gnome, which, as Arethas informs us *ad loc.*, was αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασι. It was used also by Cratinus and Eupolis; Zenobius 2. 19 says Hesiod had it.

Now when did Menelaus commit this social crime? Hardly in camp at Troy, and after the war the brothers never met. Before the war therefore, in the period covered by the *Cypria*. In the *Cypria* Proclus tells us Ἴρις ἀν-αγγέλλει τῷ Μενελάῳ τὰ γεγονότα κατὰ τὸν οἶκον (Menelaus was in Crete), ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος περὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἴλιον στρατείας βουλευέται μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. He came back from Crete and broke in upon Agamemnon in company. Some such motive is necessary. Agamemnon expostulated (*non sine nota*) and quoted the gnome. He no doubt forgave him, and gave him the consolation the occasion suggested, for here I place the familiar lines :

οἶνόν τοι Μενέλαε θεοὶ ποίησαν ἄριστον  
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἀποσκεδάσαι μελεδῶνας

(fr. XIII.). We may therefore assign the gnome to the *Cypria* and number it XIIa. Other gnomonic fragments quoted from the *Cypria* are XXIII. and XXV.

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## STESICHOROS AND THE RHADINE-FRAGMENT.

IT is not without a certain feeling of surprise that I find the fragment preserved by Strabo VIII. 3, 20, and somewhat doubtfully ascribed by him to Stesichoros, still commonly attributed to that writer. As the purpose of this note is to give what seem to me cogent reasons for holding that no poem of such a metre and content could be by an author of any possible date earlier than Alexandrian times, I cite the passage of Strabo in full. It runs as follows, and is part of an argument for the existence of an ancient city called Samos in Elis.

καὶ ἡ 'Ραδινὴ δέ, ἣν Στησίχορος ποιῆσαι δοκεῖ, ἥς ἀρχή  
"Ἀγε Μοῦσα λῖγει", ἄρξον αἰοιδᾶς ἐρατωνύμου<sup>1</sup>  
Σαμίων περὶ παίδων ἐρατῶν φθεγγομένα λύραι,

ἐντεῦθεν λέγει τοὺς παῖδας. ἐκδοθεῖσαν γὰρ τὴν 'Ραδινὴν εἰς Κόρινθον τυράννῳ φησὶν ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πλεῦσαι πνέοντος Ζεφύρου, οὐ δῆπουθεν τῆς 'Ιωνικῆς Σάμου· τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἀρχιθέωρον εἰς Δελφοὺς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν ἐρώντα αὐτῆς ἄρματι εἰς Κόρινθον ἐξορμήσαι παρ' αὐτὴν· ὃ τε τύραννος κτείνας ἀμφοτέρους ἄρματι ἀποπέμπει τὰ σώματα, μεταγνοὺς δ' ἀνακαλεῖ καὶ θάπτει.

It is clear that the geographer is taking sides in a dispute, not merely warning his readers against a possible misunderstanding of a poem; for Pausanias tells us (VII. 5, 13) that in the island of Samos, on the road leading to the temple of Hera, the tomb of Rhadine and Leontichos was shown, and those crossed in love used to pray at it. This can hardly be any other than the Rhadine mentioned by Strabo and her ill-fated cousin. With the geographical point involved I am not now concerned; certainly, if the author of the poem is not misrepresented by Strabo and was not using the name of Zephyros loosely for any wind, he supposed his Samos to lie west of both Delphoi and Corinth; and if he meant Leontichos to go all the way by chariot and the tyrant to send the bodies away with the intention of conveying them home by road, the Samos in question was not an island. However, it would seem from Pausanias that the story was fairly well known, and that, as might be expected, the only Samos in existence in his day claimed it.

Strabo gives no opinion of his own as to the authorship of the poem; his *δοκεῖ* probably means that it was usually believed to be by Stesichoros; such a meaning of the verb is common, for instance, in Aristotle, as Bonitz' Index will show. At all events, P. Maas<sup>2</sup> is not justified in glossing ἣν . . . *δοκεῖ*

<sup>1</sup> ἐρατωνύμου Bergk, ἐρατῶν ὕμνου codd. The fragment is 44 in Bergk's *P.L.G.*, 16 in Diehl's *Anth. Lyrica*. Some slight emendations in the

text of Strabo have been tacitly accepted.

<sup>2</sup> In Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, s.u. 'Ραδινῆ, col. 37.



by 'also offenbar nicht verfasst hat.' Nor do I agree with him that the mention of a tyrant of Corinth does not help us to date the story, 'da der Ausdruck dem Strabon gehören kann.'<sup>1</sup> His conjecture that the poem was not to be found in the Alexandrian edition of Stesichoros may be correct,<sup>2</sup> but, if so, neither proves nor disproves his authorship. Collected editions, ancient or modern, are not infallible. The arguments of Schmidt-Stählin in favour of it I can hardly take seriously.<sup>3</sup> 'Der Zweifel von P. Maas . . . ist . . . nicht gerechtfertigt, auch nicht durch die eigenartige metrische Einkleidung. Für Stesich. spricht der Musenanruf (vgl. fr. 12, 18D; 77, 8), der dorische Dialekt, nicht gegen ihn das bedeutungsvolle Spiel mit dem Wort *ἐπατός*.' By parity of reasoning, one might prove that Stesichoros wrote the lament for Daphnis in Theokritos I., which is in excellent Doric and invokes the Muses frequently. My own certainty that the poem is not his, nor by any pre-Hellenistic poet, springs from somewhat more complicated reasons than I can find given in any works of reference which I have consulted.

It is well known that there were at least two poets named, or nicknamed, Stesichoros. One is fixed by the *Marmor Parium*, Ep. 73, as having been alive and writing acceptable poetry in B.C. 369-68.<sup>4</sup> The other is much older, and traditions concerning him vary so much that Wilamowitz-Moellendorf would postulate the existence of two different writers, one a native of Himera of the sixth century or thereabouts, the other an Epizephyrian Lokrian of the fifth. Be this as it may, certainly the elder poet, or poets, was or were much more famous than the obscure fourth-century writer, of whom we know scarcely anything. This man, to judge by his age and the fact that he is said to have written dithyrambs, is not likely to have been the author of any very startling innovations in poetry. One thinks of him as of the school which produced Timotheos with his pantomime verses and his musical elaborations, or as resembling Philoxenos, like whom he wrote a *Kyklops*.<sup>5</sup> But the elder name was so mistily great that it might easily have attached to it any poem of unknown date and authorship, provided only it was in a lyric metre, as any didactic poem or chronicle in hexameters tended to be fathered upon Hesiod, any nameless epic on Homer.

If now we turn to the content of the poem, we are, I think, justified in supposing it to be a popular story given literary form. It is patently unhistorical; for what tyrant of Corinth ever sought, or was likely to seek, a wife either from the island of Samos, which was hostile to Periandros,<sup>6</sup> or from an obscure and forgotten corner of Elis? The episodes are of a romantic order, and the end, with apparently the burial of the two unhappy lovers in one grave, reminds us of a hundred popular ballads and tales of many nations. The handling of the story smacks strongly of the typical Greek

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, line 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. Stesichoros, col. 246r, 18 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Griech. Literaturgesch.*, I., p. 481, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See, besides the *Realencyclopädie* and Schmid-Stählin, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Sappho und*

*Simonides*, p. 233 sqq.; J. Vürtheim, *Stesichoros Fragmente u. Biographie* (Leiden, 1919) p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Didymos on Demosth. XII. 61. The piece was performed before Philip in 353.

<sup>6</sup> Herod. III. 48.

novel, with its stock features of tyrant, attempted rescue by a lover, betrayal and vengeance. Where and how the original story grew up, one can only conjecture. It may have started at the monument spoken of by Pausanias. If this was really a tomb, it may have been known that the occupants were βιαιοθάνατοι, in which case they would be very proper recipients of charms, amatory or other.<sup>1</sup> Once the spot gained a reputation for efficiency in this respect, the ghosts of those buried there might easily become a sort of heroes in popular belief, which certainly would not fail to invent a *ἱερὸς λόγος* to correspond. Or, the story may really be Elean, and, like many stories, have been localized elsewhere, this time in the island of Samos, and attached to a monument which was somehow well known. In this case the lovers' attentions to the tomb would be the result, not the cause, of the legend. But in any case, it was certainly not the type of story with which the earlier poets concerned themselves. Radine and Leontichos are isolated figures, having no known connexion with any of the great legendary families, whether Ionian or of Greece proper. The tyrant remains the nameless figure he probably was to begin with, and his conduct in apparently insisting on marrying Rhadine against her will is of the kind ascribed to tyrants at all manner of dates. Had the legend been handled at any time from the great days of epic down to the close of the classical Greek tradition, it appears to me certain that the characters in it would at least have been provided with a more recognizable set of names.

We must also consider the metre, which is very good and neat Greater Asklepiads, apparently *κατὰ στίχον*. I lay no stress whatever on the fact that nearly all the fragments of Stesichoros are in a dactylic or anapaestic rhythm; one or two are not, and in any case, nothing can be proved from so small a sample, amounting in all to but fifty-five lines or thereabouts. What is to the point is the fact that this metre is used for solos, lyric poems of a personal nature, setting forth the real or assumed feelings of the poet, and not for narrative. That this is so is clear from all the fragments we have of the older poets, notably the Lesbians, and is confirmed by the usage of Horace. But here we have what was clearly a narrative poem, yet written in this metre.

Such being the case, it appears to me that the two factors of subject-matter and medium of expression point the same way, namely, to Alexandrian work of a good period. As regards the former, Cahen<sup>2</sup> has very justly called attention to the character of the mythology most affected by the prince of Alexandrians, Kallimachos himself; he deals, in the *Aitia*, with

‘non point les histoires trop connues de la mythologie courante, mais des récits pris dans la tradition réelle et vivante du vrai peuple.’

Precisely such a legend I believe we have here; a folk-tale, be it of Samos

<sup>1</sup> To take one example out of many, the great Paris papyrus (IV. Preisendanz), 329 sqq., gives the following directions: *καὶ λαβὼν πλάτυμμα μολυβοῦν γράψον τὸν λόγον... καὶ... τίθεσθαι ἡλίου δόνοντος παρὰ ἑώρου ἢ βιαίου θήκην, παρατιθῶν*

*αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ ἄνθη* (follows a long prayer to the spirits of the place). The section is headed *φιλτροκατόδεσμοι θαυμαστοί*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kallimache et son oeuvre poétique*, p. 621.

or Elis, perhaps gathered by word of mouth, as Kallimachos says he did the tale which the man from Ikos told him<sup>1</sup>—it is not necessary to suppose, though it may be the case, that this is a mere literary device—perhaps contained in one of those local chronicles the loss of which has robbed us of so much priceless folklore; some forgotten *Σαμικά* or *Ἡλιακά*, drawn into the drag-net of the Alexandrian library. That it is a love-story would certainly not lessen its value for an age which, profiting by the hints given in the tragedies of Euripides and the comedies of Menander, was exploiting the theme of romantic love both in psychological analyses of the lover's feelings (as in Apollonios' portrait of Medeia) or as a basis for a series of interesting or pathetic adventures, as in Kallimachos' episode of Kydippe and Akontios.

The subject, then, is a highly likely one for an Alexandrian to choose. The metre is equally likely. Nothing is more characteristic of Alexandria than the fondness for transposing, so to speak, more complex into less complex forms. Thus Kallimachos writes poems of lyric feeling in hexameters and elegiacs<sup>2</sup>; Theokritos gives us, in hexameters, an impression of a lyric solo<sup>3</sup>; Kallimachos again writes his lament for the death of Arsinoe<sup>4</sup> in Archibulean verses *κατὰ στίχον*—a sharp contrast to the complex choral metres of the Pindaric *θρήνοι*. For a poet of that school, the idea of writing a mythical narrative, not as Pindar or Stesichoros would write it, in elaborate metres suitable for a chorus, but in a simple measure, such as a soloist might use who contemplated no bravura effects—a drawing-room singer, as we might say—would surely be a very natural one. The musical effect of such simplifications would, one supposes, resemble that produced nowadays by rearranging a part-song as a solo, or an orchestral composition for the piano.

If, corresponding to the popular legend, there was a popular ballad of some kind, I think we have good reason to say that it would accord with Alexandrian literary fashion to re-write it; somewhat as, in a rather Alexandrian epoch of our own literature, Prior re-wrote *The Nut-Brown Mayde* into the intolerable *Henry and Emma*. For a certain example, we have but to turn to Phoinix of Kolophon. His *Κορώνη*<sup>5</sup> so resembles in content the genuinely popular swallow-song and the 'Homeric' *Εἰρεσιώνη* that there is no room for doubt that he had in mind some real song sung by Rhodian *κορωνισταί*; but no one would for an instant mistake these polished verses for the work of any but a practiced man of letters. If there was any such song as I have postulated, it is precisely the thing that a chronicler would be likely to quote or refer to in support of his story, and an oral informant would be still more likely to produce it instead of telling the story in his own words.

<sup>1</sup> Frag. 8 Pfeiffer.

<sup>2</sup> For excellent discussion of this and kindred matters, see Cahen, *op. cit.*, pp. 297 sqq., 617, and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Theokr. XV. 100 sqq.; cf. I. 64-142, III. 6 sqq., X. 26-37 and 42-55.

<sup>4</sup> Frag. I. Pfeiffer; the first line is preserved

by Hephaistion, p. 49 Gaisford<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Phoinix, frag. 2 Diehl. The fragment is preserved by Athenaios, 359E-360A; the swallow-song (*Carm. pop.*, 31 Diehl) is *ibid.*, 360C-D. The *Κορώνη*, from the context in Athenaios, obviously was part of a poem (mime?) in scazons, describing the *κορωνισταί* (on their rounds).

And I think we have an instance, though not a certain one, of an old popular song ascribed to Stesichoros. Aristoxenos<sup>1</sup> tells us that 'the women in old days' sang *Καλύκην τινὰ ᾠδὴν, Στησιχόρου δ' ἦν ποίημα*. The past tenses seem to indicate that in his own time the song was lost, or at least he had never heard it; but he knew its contents, and gives them in outline. A certain Kalyke, chaste but passionate, had tried vainly to awaken love in one Euathlos. An appeal to Aphrodite to cause him to marry her remained likewise unanswered, and in despair she leaped over the Leukadian Rock. The tale is sandwiched in between two more of the same kind, one concerning Eriphanis the poetess, the other Harpalyke; both are said to have been commemorated in poems, Eriphanis in a nome supposed to be of her own composition, Harpalyke by yearly songs sung by girls. The Bormos song and the laments for Erigone and Lityerses are rightly introduced by Athenaios in the same context. These poems have every appearance of having been ritual songs, connected with popular rites, agricultural or purificatory, and quite possibly of very ancient date. That one of them should be attributed to Stesichoros is as natural and inevitable as that the *Εἰρεσιώνη* should be attributed to Homer; the latter was an old poem in hexameters, the former an old poem in some lyric metre. It seems quite possible that, in like manner, some old popular song concerning Rhadine and her cousin had been fathered upon Stesichoros, and that the old ballad was in turn confused with the newer poem which imitated it.

Another possibility is that the Alexandrian himself assumed the title of Stesichoros. He was no doubt a man of learning, as his knowledge of the obscure legend indicates, and he would know the tradition that Stesichoros' real name was Tisias, but *ἐκλήθη Στησίχορος ὅτι πρῶτος κιθαρωιδίας χορὸν ἔστησεν*.<sup>2</sup> There was something of a fashion for taking great and ancient names in this way, as we may see from the fact that two different grammarian-poets called themselves Homer.<sup>3</sup> As to his real name, it is not surprising that that has remained unknown when we consider how wretchedly little we know of the literary activity of all but the greatest Alexandrians.

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<sup>1</sup> Cited by Athenaios, 619d.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas, s.v. *Στησίχορος*.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, s.v. *Ὀμηρος* (c, d). Cf. also Arrian's naming himself Xenophon (*Cyneg.* 5, 6).



## THE 'SIMILE OF LIGHT' IN PLATO'S *REPUBLIC*.

At the end of *Republic* VI. Socrates compares the Good with the sun as a cause both of existence and intelligibility. Afterwards, when he continues and expands this comparison, the symbolism becomes so complex that the interpretation of almost every part of it is in dispute. We start with the contrast of light and darkness; to this is next added the contrast of image and original, and also of up and down along a vertical line; in the allegory of the Cave these three sets of contrasted terms are worked in together so as to explain the effect on the soul of the intellectual education by which we are converted from what is dark and imitative and ascend finally to knowledge of the Good. 'Conversion' and 'ascent' are terms which belong to the allegory and express the effect of education; they are somehow to be made intelligible by reference to the types of objects contemplated at the different stages; and these objects in turn must be explained by reference to the contrasts of light and darkness, image and original, up and down. The symbolism, therefore, is extremely intricate, and the whole passage has an air of conscious elaboration which makes it difficult to be content with the view sometimes expressed, that since any simile will break down somewhere, we must be prepared to put up with rough and partial correspondence between the symbol and the thing symbolized. Although, no doubt, we cannot give a meaning to every detail, yet at any rate the very careful and elaborate articulation of objects into four groups, both in the Line and the Cave, must be accounted for somehow. But it is on the meaning of these four groups that controversy is most acute. According to the 'traditional' interpretation the Line is supposed to show a grading of all reality into four successive steps or stages, and each of these stages to bring us closer to the final form of reality and the Good. There seems certainly no general reason why Plato should not have intended to divide reality into four grades; it would have been quite relevant to his purpose. But it has proved so difficult to work out the significance of the distinction between visible shadows and solids as described in this actual passage without drawing largely on materials from elsewhere, that it has seemed easier to some<sup>1</sup> to cut the knot and to suppose that Plato's references to the facts of vision are intended only for illustration and that it is only the distinction between *διάνοια* and *νόησις* which matters. In the *Classical Quarterly* XV. and XVI., 1921 and 1922, Professor A. S. Ferguson argues this again in a very thorough way, and carries his interpretation right through the similes. He denies that Plato intends to contrast thought as a whole and its objects with sense and sensibles as a whole, except for illustration, and is therefore also forced, in consistency, to deny what is called the 'parallelism' of the Line with the Cave; for since the Cave is admittedly an allegory of actual life throughout, one whole section of it cannot be merely illustrative of another whole section, and therefore the lower segments of the Line could not be paralleled with the behaviour of the prisoners in the Cave.

I propose to argue that this is contrary to the plain meaning of the text. It is true, I think, that Plato's treatment of the facts of vision is *partly* for illustration, and Professor Ferguson and others seem to me to have been right, not only in distinguishing between 'illustrative' and 'substantive' meanings, but also in insisting on a literal interpretation of the whole passage without the introduction of

<sup>1</sup> E.g. H. Jackson in *J. Phil.* 1882.

material drawn from all over the dialogues of Plato. I believe that the similes can be interpreted (a) quite literally, (b) without reference to any doctrine outside the long passage (say, from V. 474 to VII. 538) in which Plato explains and defends the rule of philosophy. But I shall begin by bringing forward arguments against Professor Ferguson's interpretation, in order to show that Plato is drawing a contrast between the two main worlds of sense and intelligence, and that the sensible world is not being used merely as a symbol for the intelligible; afterwards I shall argue that the subdivision of the sensible world, whether in the Line or the Cave, is intended for illustration; i.e., that Plato is seriously contrasting intelligence and its objects with sense and sensibles, but not one kind of sensible with another, and that the progression he is describing is neither twofold nor fourfold, but threefold, from *δόξα* to *διάνοια* and from *διάνοια* to *νόησις*. This version will allow a very exact correlation between the Line and the Cave, but I am postponing until the last part of the paper any discussion of the kind of correlation possible between the different similes, or, as Professor Ferguson prefers, between the different parts of the one 'simile of Light.'

I shall begin with some arguments, quite summarily stated, against the view that Plato is only concerned with the distinction between intelligibles, expressing them with reference to Professor Ferguson's treatment of the Sun and the Cave.

(a) *The Sun*.—It seems quite impossible to hold that the visible world in this simile is only used as a symbol for the intelligible. The next simile begins by reference to these 'two kinds' (509d), and any misunderstanding of their character prejudices the interpretation of what follows. These 'two kinds' are the two main kinds of being referred to in 507, visibles and intelligibles, the many and the one; they are not part of the metaphorical comparison of Good with the sun, but stand outside it and provide the framework within which the comparison holds good. But from the visible kind in the simile are extracted symbols both for the visible and the intelligible kind; one condition (nocturnal) of visibles becomes a symbol of visibles themselves, while the daylight condition stands for intelligibles. For this simile already contains an *εἰκὼν κατ' ἀναλογίαν*, in the form, as brightly lit visibles are to dimly lit visibles, so are intelligibles to visibles (508c and d). These 'two kinds,' then, are the two classes of things for which symbols have been used, and neither of them is itself merely symbolical.

(b) *The Cave*.—Nor does it seem possible to hold that the condition of *ἀπαιδευσία* described in the Cave can be explained entirely as a perverted 'education,' under the influence of Sophists, corrupt politicians, etc., as if it were in no sense comparable to *εἰκασία*, and as if Plato refused to allow a 'cave' in the ideal city. Certainly in that city there are no corrupt politics nor perversion, but if there were no cave there, how could philosophers return to it? Plato expressly argues (519) that this return is obligatory *only* in the ideal city, and, after all, even ideal children are born young and are born human, and that is enough of itself to constitute a 'cave.' 'Being in a cave' means essentially that one's attention has not yet been turned towards the ideal world.<sup>1</sup>

In these similes, then, sense is being contrasted with thought and the escape

<sup>1</sup> A few actual statements from these articles may be considered in order to show the difficulties inherent in this type of interpretation.

(a) 'The bonds that hold the prisoners fast are devised by men' (Ferguson, *Classical Quarterly*, XVI., p. 16). But surely these bonds are the 'leadens weights of becoming' (519a), and all the lower desires and appetites which are no doubt often made heavier bonds than they need be by the work of men, but belong inherently to human nature. In the ideal city these bonds are

loosened by the preliminary training in music and gymnastic, by which the soul is prepared to 'welcome reason when it shall come' (402a), but they are not removed by this training (522).

(b) 'The puppets are . . . apparently valueless to the philosopher' (*loc. cit.*, p. 24). But in looking at the puppets the released prisoner is said to look at something 'nearer to reality' (515d). How, then, can they be valueless for education, or be treated as the mere shams and sorceries of a Sophist?

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from sense is being described. The main outlines of Plato's argument are clearly drawn from the first; in the simile of the Sun Socrates begins by recalling the familiar distinction between *εἶδη* and *τὰ πολλὰ* in order to reach (i) the result expressed in 508D, that while acquaintance with sensibles is semi-blindness, acquaintance with ideas is enlightenment; that is ground already familiar to Glaucon, and the fresh point made in this simile (508E) is that (ii) this enlightenment is due to the Good, which illuminates the ideal world; he then explains also the transcendence of the Good. Now while the first point here made (508D) is already 'familiar' to Glaucon, it belongs no less than the second point to Socrates' explanation of the Good. Glaucon would not understand either the character or the importance of the *μέγιστον μάθημα* unless he began by recalling the difference between knowledge and opinion and between their objects, as defined in Book V. and elsewhere, since the importance of the Good is being explained by the importance of the objects it illuminates. In the Line also, as well as in the Sun and the Cave, it seems quite clear that Plato is contrasting opinion with knowledge. The form of the diagram and the nature of the ratios seem to put this beyond question, unless we start reading the Line with the prejudice that Professor Ferguson's interpretation of the Sun would give us.

But if we accept this contrast as more than illustrative, are we bound in consistency to accept the subdivision of the sensible world as also more than illustration? There seem to be certain genuine difficulties in the full quadripartite version, i.e. in accepting the four groups of objects described both in the Line and the Cave as intended for consecutive grades of reality.

For reasons to be discussed later, it seems convenient to consider the Cave first rather than the Line. Now a quite unprejudiced reading of the Cave, without reference either to what has gone before or to Plato's own subsequent explanations in Book VII., would probably suggest a genuine subdivision within *δόξα*, for within *δόξα* (under the light of the fire) there is being represented an extremely important change, the conversion of the soul from shadows to substances. But in reading further into the book we discover that this conversion is in fact due to a specifically intellectual education by which we are introduced to the ideal world (518 to 526, and 532b). This conversion, therefore, cannot really have taken place within *δόξα*, but must be construed as from *δόξα* to some form of *γνώσις*. The Cave describes three levels of enlightenment, and only three—first *ἀπαιδεία*, then the level of thought produced by mathematics, and finally the level produced by dialectic (532a and b); *ἀπαιδεία* is clearly what Plato generally calls *δόξα*, the mental level of the unphilosophical. Yet to explain these three levels of development there are four<sup>1</sup> grades of reality. These four grades correspond point for point with the grades described in the Line, but the main problem of interpretation is not one of fitting the Cave to the Line, but one

(7) 'The natural symbolism (outside the Cave) illustrates the Platonic education' (p. 15). By contrast no 'Platonic' education is supposed to be going on within the Cave. But Plato expressly tells us (e.g. 532b) that the prisoner's release is effected by mathematics. Professor Ferguson avoids this (p. 24, note 2) by separating the release from the propaedeutic as being two successive stages. But how can we reconcile this with the repeated assertions in Book VII. that the means of conversion is the mathematical propaedeutic? Mathematics must begin in the Cave in order to rescue us from it. Any other interpretation would run counter to the whole trend of Book VII., for the metaphors of turning round and leading upwards, started in the

Cave, are carried on throughout the book and explained in non-metaphorical terms.

<sup>1</sup> (i) Firelit images; (ii) the puppets which are the immediate originals of these images; (iii) the originals of the puppets outside the Cave first seen in shadow then reflected in water; this grade as a whole is called *θεῖα φαντάσματα*; (iv) these originals themselves, etc. A comparison of 532a and b with 516 enables us to distinguish these groups without difficulty; the complexity of the last two groups accords well enough with the description of the sciences in Book VII., arranged as they are according to the increasing complication of their subject-matter. For the (probable) complexity of dialectic see 532e 1.

which is equally prominent in the Cave taken alone; why should we have four grades of reality to distinguish three levels of enlightenment? It might be replied, perhaps, that the mathematical level, for example, can only be described by reference to two grades, since mathematical activity (using sensible figures but thinking about the intelligible form) brackets sense and intelligence, and further that, according to Plato's repeated (but rather obscure) statements, the sensible figures used by mathematics are taken from the objects of *πίστις* and not of *εἰκασία*; and that therefore a subdivision of visibles is required to provide an adequate representation of mathematics. It is, of course, an important and characteristic feature of mathematics that it uses sensible figures, and Plato does assert (three times) that its figures are solids rather than reflections, and this assertion seems to lend some support to the seriousness of the subdivision in the sensible order. So it could be said that the mathematical level is symbolized in the Cave by the whole series of pictures (grouped together by Plato in 532b) from the conversion to the looking at the *θεῖα φαντάσματα*, on the ground that mathematics, as having one foot in each world, could not be symbolized either by 'puppets,' which are under the light of the fire and therefore wholly sensible, or by *θεῖα φαντάσματα*, which are in the sunlight and therefore wholly intelligible. This would explain the passage as if Plato were trying to express the intermediate character of mathematics by a series of pictures beginning in the sensible and ending in the intelligible order, and, as an explanation, would at least have the merit of conforming to Plato's own grouping in 532b. But any such interpretation is exposed to fatal objections. It is not in itself impossible or even unlikely that an advance which still leaves us in the state of 'opinion' could be treated by Plato as an important achievement (cf., e.g., *Philebus* 55 sq.). But it is made quite clear in Book VII. (e.g. 524d and e) that the 'conversion from the shadows,' there discussed, is due to a genuinely intellectual education, and that this education puts us at once in contact with the ideal world. The conversion is from sensibles to intelligibles. Nowhere in Book VII. does Plato discuss the possibility of an advance within *δόξα* except in his reference to music and gymnastics (522), where he expressly denies that the conversion could be effected by them. If it be replied again that the series of objects from the puppets to the *θεῖα φαντάσματα* must somehow be grouped together, as by Plato himself in 532, and that it is this series as a whole which represents our contact (through the veil of sense) with the ideal world, the objection remains that in the Cave the actual moment of turning is given great dramatic stress, and the rescuer pauses to convince the released prisoner how much he has already gained (515d), although he has not yet ascended to the upper world. And this stress seems to correspond with the position of *πίστις* in the Line. The form of the diagram and the ratios between the segments show that *πίστις* is not merely one part of a complex activity, but a 'crowning phase' or completion of one kind of activity. It has a finality about it as consummating what was begun in *εἰκασία*, just as the mind, beginning again in *διάνοια*, comes to rest again in *νόησις*. The finality of *πίστις* may be only relative, but it has too much finality to be treated merely as the less important part of mathematical activity. Both these similes, then, are articulated so as to show the same stress or rhythm, and in the case of the Cave Plato has in effect interpreted this stress for us by explaining (e.g. 526e) that the conversion from shadows to puppets<sup>1</sup> is a conversion from *γένεσις* to *οὐσία*. Yet the 'light of the fire' is expressly compared with the 'power of the sun' (517b), and therefore the puppets, being under this light, are at their face value material things and not ideal things. What conclusion can one come to except that the distinctions

<sup>1</sup> There is perhaps some natural reluctance (urged very strongly by Professor Ferguson) to accept 'looking at puppets' as a symbol for mathematical instructedness, since puppets con-

note artificiality and pretence. But Plato's statement in 515d is quite explicit—*πρὸς μᾶλλον ὄντα τετραμμένους ὀρθότερον βλέπειν*.

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made within the sensible world (whether in the Cave or the Line) are not made for their own sake, and cannot be interpreted at their face value, since any such interpretation would lead to the absurdity of supposing that the big intellectual achievement described throughout Book VII, as 'conversion,' and there asserted to be our first contact with ideas, consists really in nothing but a better acquaintance with material things? If the turning to face the puppets stands for the first discovery of ideas, and if the puppets, being in the light of the fire, are sensible, then the distinction within sensibles between shadows (images) and puppets (originals) stands for or illustrates the distinction between sensibles and intelligibles, just as in the simile of the Sun one condition of visibles stood for visibles and the other condition for intelligibles.

Certainly this complicates the interpretation, but, after all, no one can fairly pretend that these similes are capable of any very simple interpretation. The sensible world plays a double part, at once 'substantive' and symbolical. As a whole Plato is contrasting it with the intelligible world, but within it he is picking out symbols for the transition from sense to intelligence. The upward ascent in the final simile is threefold, *δόξα, διάνοια, νόησις*, but these advances are symbolized, as in the previous similes, by the advance made within sensible experience whether from dark to light or from reflection to solid. This symbolical advance is put within the symbol for *δόξα*, and so gets incorporated into the ladder of ascent and looks like one of the actual steps. But since in the Cave the turning from sense to thought is represented by symbols which, if we took them at their face value, would mean that mathematical education has still left us within *δόξα*, in contact with *γένεσις* and not with *οὐσία*, therefore it is impossible to take the subdivision of this firelit world at its face value.

In the Cave Plato is depicting the mental life of the unphilosophical, whether their *ἀπαιδευσία* is the genuine uninstructedness of children or the hardened errors of those who have received the perverse education described in VI. 493. He compares their level of intelligence to a very low grade of vision—looking at the shadows on a wall. Scientific education produces a condition *comparable* to looking at solids, but actually *consisting in* looking at solids while thinking of their intelligible character, a condition in which we grasp the true character of things by intellect but are unable to dispense with visible representation. It would be wrong to regard this part of the Cave as an allegory of mathematics; what is represented is not the procedure or technique of the mathematician, but rather the net effect of mathematical education on the soul. The groups of objects in this simile, though all visible and graded in respect of their visibility, are symbols, not for triangles and squares, but for such things as *δίκαια, καλά, ἀγαθὰ* (see 517d and 520c), as conceived at different levels of education. Education enables us to conceive *δίκαια* with an increase of clarity comparable to the advance made in visual experience by turning from shadow to substance.<sup>1</sup> But however this may be, the main clue, I think, to the difficulties of the allegory is that this level of intelligence has been given a double symbolization and is represented twice over. It is an advance to the ideal region, and from that aspect can be treated simply *en bloc* as a change from shadows to substances, and is symbolized by the conversion (*μεταστροφή*), with the puppets standing for the ideal objects which education enables us to apprehend. But secondly, in respect of its inferiority within the ideal world to the dialectical level, it is also represented outside the Cave by the discovery of *θεῖα φαντάσματα* in the sunlight. The effect of mathematics is to put us in contact with ideas, but with an inferior type of ideas, and this effect can be symbolized either by a *μεταστροφή* or by

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that even after the reference to mathematics in the Line Glaucon does not seem to suspect that mathematics is the science required (*δὲ ζητούμεν μάθημα*, 521e) to make

the bridge between the material and the ideal world, and has to be argued into the recognition of this possibility by a long discussion.

an *ἐπάνοδος*, an ascent to the true light, and in the Cave it is symbolized by both of these in succession. 'Conversion' is the appropriate metaphor for the net effect of mathematical education when compared with our previous state, but the metaphor of ascent proves more convenient when it is being contrasted with the subsequent advance to the dialectical level. There is not then a smooth, continuous progression<sup>1</sup> in the Cave any more than there is in the Line; there are two real transitions, from *δόξα* to *διάνοια*<sup>2</sup> and from *διάνοια* to *νόησις*, preceded by a symbolical transition from one kind of *δόξα* to another in order to illustrate the real transitions. This seems the only way of understanding the Cave which will bring it into line with the long passage from 518 to 534 in which Plato discusses the conversion and the upward ascent. In that passage he always closely connects these two moments, although in the symbolism of the Cave they are separated; e.g. 521c and 525a. In 526e the two notions are brought together into a single phrase, *μεταστρέφεισθαι εἰς τὸν (νοητὸν) τόπον*, whereas in the allegory (515d) the prisoner, after being turned to the puppets, looks backwards instead of forwards, and measures the advance he has already made without thought of what still lies in front of him. Conversion and ascent are alternative ways of representing the effect of education, and the obscurity of the Cave as an allegory is due to the fact that these alternatives are both included and represented as in succession. But if the Cave is read in this way, it can be brought into exact correspondence with the Line, which also can be explained as showing a discontinuous grading, symbolically from *εἰκασία* to *πίστις*, really from *δόξα* (for these first two, taken together, are *δόξα*, as Plato repeats in 534a) to *διάνοια* and then to *νόησις*. Moreover, this reading of the Cave can be confirmed by observing that there are two moments when Plato pauses, for dramatic emphasis, to record the bewilderment of the released prisoner—first at the turning round (515d and e, 1-4), secondly at the dragging upwards (515e 6-516a 5), although both of these moments belong (according to 532b) to the same stage of education. Now there seems no reason why, once we have started mathematics, we should experience any fresh emotional disturbance until we come to dialectic, and therefore it seems more natural to think that Plato is recording the same emotional disturbance (that produced by our first contact with the ideal world) twice over—firstly at the turning round, in connection with the symbolical representation of that contact as a conversion; secondly at the dragging upward, in connection with the full descriptive grading of the mathematical stage as intermediate between *δόξα* and *νόησις*.

The 'quadripartite' interpretation breaks down in that it cannot explain why Plato represents the turning from shadows to puppets as an important intellectual achievement and a discovery of the ideal world. It cannot escape this task by denying the correspondence of the Cave with the Line (in the face of the exact symmetry of the four groups in each), for the difficulty would break out again within the Cave itself; further, this view would have to deny the correspondence of the Cave with the Sun (as asserted by Plato in 517b), since the puppets, being under the light of the fire which is the analogue of the Sun, would necessarily stand for material things, whereas the change which 'conversion to the puppets' signifies is a change from material to ideal things.

The argument up to this point has been that in all three similes Plato is picking out from the visible world symbols to represent both the sensible world as a whole and the intelligible world too. The visible world in the Sun furnishes symbols both

<sup>1</sup> This point is brought out very clearly by Professor J. L. Stocks in *Classical Quarterly*, Vol. V., 1911, on the 'Divided Line.'

<sup>2</sup> Expressed in allegorical terms this would

become 'from contemplation of objects lit by the fire underground, whether shadows or puppets, to contemplation of *θεῖα φαντάσματα* in the sunlight.'

for itself (or rather for the objects of *δόξα* in general, since vision is only one case of *δόξα*) and also for intelligibles. Both in the Line and the Cave, also, the lower world performs this double function (a) by its subdivision illustrating the contrast between lower and upper world, (b) as a whole representing the lower world itself. There are therefore only three terms to be treated seriously as levels of reality, the objects of *δόξα*, of *διάνοια*, and of *νόησις*; but the illustrative subdivision of *δοξαστά* generates a fourth term, and the difficulties of interpretation are due to the placing of the four terms so generated in a consecutive order. I have argued that Plato's own exegesis of the Cave in Book VII. forces this interpretation upon us.

It now remains to justify the relationship between the Line and the Cave which has so far been assumed.

When the simile of the Sun is finished, Glaucon asks (509c) for further information. This further information is not complete until 517, nor does Socrates pause for comment until in 517a he tells Glaucon to 'apply this image as a whole to what was said before,' and in the more detailed instructions which follow connects certain terms of the Cave with certain terms of the Sun without explicit reference to anything in the Line. It is noticeable that the Line itself does not carry on the main governing simile of Light, and takes no account of the quality of the illumination. Two fresh contrasts are introduced instead, the contrast of up and down, and of image and original.<sup>1</sup> In the Cave we return to the simile of Light, and in it all the strands of thought and imagery are brought together in order to explain intellectual development and the gradual revelation of Good by reference to all these three sets of con-

<sup>1</sup> If Plato conceived the segments as unequal, according to the usual texts (509a 6), this adds a metaphorical element of which no use is made in the Cave, although it could easily have been included by indicating the relative length of the stages in the *ἐπάνοδος*. It is true that in 514 the entrance to the cave is called *μακρά* and the fire said to be *πρόρρωθεν*, and Proclus seems to think that there is some counterpart in the Cave to the inequality of length of the segments, but the length of the entrance to the cave is apparently insisted on by Plato only to avoid having the sun shining directly into it, and there seems to be really no counterpart in the Cave to this feature in the Line. Therefore, although the point is not of great importance, the following objections to the usual reading may be made:

(i) It does not seem that the authority of any existing manuscript on this point can be called decisive. As Stallbaum says, 'antiquam fuisse litem de hac lectionis diuersitate ex Schol. ad hunc locum patet.'

(ii) It is not necessary to think of the segments as unequal in order to see the force of Plato's ratios. The ratios are in all cases drawn between what fill the segments, and it is not necessary to think of the diagram as having a corresponding shape. Some translations imply ratios between the segments of the diagram itself, but a close reading of the Greek will not confirm this.

(iii) Plato nowhere refers to any of the segments as the 'longer' or the 'shorter' segment, but only as the upper or lower. So we do not even know which he thought of as the longer. 'Plutarch' thinks the lower because it contains

the many, while the upper contains the one; Proclus thinks the upper because it is *κρείττον* *καὶ περιέχον* *θάρρερον*. It is generally assumed that the latter is right, but we can only conjecture.

(iv) This inequality of length would be the only explanatory element not gathered up again into the Cave.

It might be worth while, therefore, since the more usual emendations, such as *ἀν' ὅρα*, etc., are unsatisfactory, to suggest that a plausible text could be obtained by deleting the words *ἀνισα τμήματα* altogether as a gloss. By the time of Euclid's *Elements* (e.g. I. 10) *δίχα τέμνειν* is an established technical term meaning to 'bisect' (into equal parts, of course) and requires for Euclid no further qualification such as *εἰς ὅρα*. I can find no evidence as to the mathematical usage in Plato's time, but it does not seem impossible that Plato should have been using *δίχα τέμνειν* in this sense, nor that someone should have misunderstood the usage, felt doubt about the following *ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον*, and explained it by a marginal gloss *ἀνισα τμήματα*, which afterwards crept into the text. The effect of conceiving the segments as equal would be to enable us simply to disregard their relative lengths. The Line would merely have four compartments one above the other without any significant shape.

There is obviously, however, a good deal of conjecture here, and if the text is sound (and the only serious objection I have against it is the discrepancy with the Cave), it must be admitted that this inequality of length is an element of metaphor, a contrast of short and long, in the Line which disappears in the Cave.

trasted terms. The general arrangement or 'rhythm' of the passage, then, is this: at 509, when asked for further explanation of the Sun, Socrates takes a long breath and gives an explanation which does not pause until 517, when he refers the 'image' he has now completed back again to the Sun without reference to the Line. Why does he not refer to the Line? Are the Line and the Cave co-ordinate attempts to give the further information demanded, as if Socrates were simply attempting to hit with one barrel what he misses with the other? If that had been so he would surely have made some effort to show how his division of objects into four grades is relevant to the original comparison (*τὴν περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὁμοίωσιν*), which was the point about which further information was required. But the Line takes no account of the difference between the sources of illumination. When Glaucon is told, therefore, to 'apply this image to what was said before,' by 'this image,' I suggest, Socrates means the Cave and the Line taken together, regarded in a sense as one simile, and by 'what was said before' he means the original simile of the Sun as it stood before Glaucon's request. The Line does no more than to prepare for the Cave by establishing governing ratios between the groups of things which we are going to find there in an allegorical setting.

The four classes of things in the Line consist of objects described in plain terms and without allegory, graded in respect of reality by the general criterion that a copy is less real than its original. Glaucon is got to agree to this grading and is then hurried on, without pause for comment, to the final simile which takes up again the contrast of light and darkness and explains the *μέγιστον μάθημα* by showing how education brings the soul up against these different grades, now represented by their allegorical equivalents. The Line is an explanatory diagram of the real things which are going to be dealt with in the allegory. It maps out and describes the geography of the regions through which, in the Cave, we see the released prisoner travelling. Nothing is said in the Line about transitions from one of its states to another. It merely (a) defines four classes of objects, (b) grades these four classes, and the corresponding states of mind, in respect of reality and clearness. Whether any particular person or class of persons looks at one of these objects, or is in one of these states, is irrelevant. The application of the diagram to life is still hypothetical, and we go quite astray if we suppose, for example, that *πίστις* is intended to represent the mental level of ordinary people. All that Plato says is that *if* you look at solids your state is clearer than *if* you look at shadows, but whether we do look at solids or not it is left for the Cave to determine. And in the Cave we find that ordinary people ('we') are in a condition which Plato strives with all his resources of imagery to define as comparable to *εἰκασία*; not to *πίστις*, nor yet to *πίστις* and *εἰκασία* merged together, as if Plato had lost interest in the distinction between them, but to *εἰκασία* simply. No doubt the meaning of this comparison of ordinary human experience with *εἰκασία* requires explanation, but we must let Plato write his allegories in his own way. It is true that in subdividing the upper line he describes what ought to be a purely objective distinction by reference to the mental processes of mathematicians and philosophers. This seems to be due to the fact that Glaucon (and the reader of Plato up to this point) is unfamiliar with any distinction of reality within the sphere of ideas; the references to mathematical processes in the long parenthesis from 510c 1 to 511a 8 are intended by way of explanation, and the subdivisions of the upper line are still in themselves abstract, not essentially, that is to say, definable by reference to the habits of the mathematical mind (though Glaucon puts it in that way in 511c), but by a genuinely objective distinction in things. If Plato had had the doctrine of *τὰ μετὰ φύσιν* clearly formulated in his mind while writing, he could have made his meaning clear in a few words, and escaped the awkwardness of having to explain what admittedly ought to be a distinction between types of objects by reference to mental processes and methods of treatment. We

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may say then that the Line seems at any rate *intended* for an abstract or hypothetical classification, and it is in the Cave that Plato draws its moral for us and applies it to human life.

The Line is not a paradigm of mental development, and its purpose is not to throw light on the habits of real people. It is the Cave which is concerned with *stages* of mental development; in the Line there are only *states* of mind. Looking at reflections in water could only be such a stage if we habitually confined ourselves to them, but in the case of vision there is no such stage, since no one can habitually look only at reflections, any more, for that matter, than he can look only at solids. But Plato has already argued in Book VI. that in the case of justice or beauty, for example, the many are content with shadows (τὰ δοκούντα, 505). Owing to the vicious circle in current education (493) as well as to the evil inherent in human nature, they receive their own opinions, εἴτ' ἐν γραφικῇ εἴτ' ἐν μουσικῇ εἴτε δὴ ἐν πολιτικῇ, back again as if reflected in a mirror. While therefore there could be no such thing as a stage of visual εἰκασία, the momentary state of visual εἰκασία illustrates the general mental condition of those whom their natural appetites, reinforced by this vicious education, hold down as if by bonds to the lowest levels of moral experience. Practically, the case of vision is unimportant, since there are no bonds upon sight, and Plato has no intention of setting up a category of 'moral εἰκασία,' as it is sometimes called, or of distinguishing 'moral εἰκασία' from 'moral πίστις'; εἰκασία, like πίστις, is purely visual, but it furnishes a convenient illustration of moral and intellectual δόξα. Our general mental level, the stage of development at which we live our daily lives, is what our visual experience would be if we were bound like prisoners underground and could only see the flickering shadows cast by a fire. In other words Plato means that δόξα resembles εἰκασία, for his allegory of the soul's education is intended to be governed by the ratios established in the diagram between states of vision. As in the simile of the Sun, the comparison is between ὀφθαλμοί (508c 4) and τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς (508d 4). So εἰκασία itself means nothing but the state of mind (πάθημα) which results from looking at shadows and reflections. All that Plato means is that a reflection is dim and difficult to see clearly. In water, for example, its outlines waver and are too blurred and faint to define precisely. The vivid tones and clear line of the original are lost. εἰκασία cannot mean conjecture about the original solid, for that would contradict the main doctrine of the passage, that every level of apprehension has a different object. It is sometimes argued that the apprehension of what is obscure can itself be clear, and that εἰκασία is only obscure because it is an imperfect way of apprehending the original object. But this is not Plato's doctrine (cf., e.g., 508d). The mind is 'subdued to that it works in,' and can only obscurely apprehend what is obscure itself. If εἰκασία is 'conjecture,' it is conjecture about the reflection before the eyes, which will be too dim to be clearly seen; we cannot know for certain or describe its shape in detail, but only guess.

It may seem unusual, by way of conclusion to a long and rather dogmatic argument, to ask how far it can claim to be true. But the feeling remains that if the difficulties of this passage were capable of any quite definitive solution, with all the attention that has been given to it, they would have been solved before this. Perhaps the most debateable point is the purpose of the fourfold division of objects in the Line. Plato begins the Line by recalling the 'two kinds,' visibles and intelligibles, which had formed the framework of reference for the comparison of Good with the sun. We are then told to subdivide each kind, and there is nothing in this simile itself which would lead us to suspect that the subdivisions of the visible kind are any more symbolical than those of the intelligible. And it is certainly dangerous at least to treat the lower subdivisions as 'of no metaphysical importance,' for the relation of copy to original is fundamental in Plato's metaphysics, and in his criticism of Art in

Book X. he shows how much weight he is capable of attaching to it even in the sphere of visible things. And in this passage itself he uses the distinction substantively when he insists that the images of mathematical thought are the originals of vision.

Yet it seems impossible to separate the Line from the Cave, and quite impossible to treat the turning from shadows to puppets in the Cave as anything but a turning from sensibles to intelligibles. And if so, it will be equally impossible to take the distinction between *eikōnes* and *ἕψα* in the Line at its face value. But if Plato means what has been ascribed to him in this paper, it must be admitted that there are some genuine obscurities in the similes, particularly in his equivocation between symbol and antitype, as when he takes advantage of the intricacy of his own symbolism to glorify mathematics as a level of thought for which even the best in the visible kind is but a shadow. The assertion in itself is permissible, in so far as a solid brass triangle is no more the true object of the mathematician than its reflection in water (although in fact the mathematical concept can be represented in *any* medium), but it fits in very awkwardly with the form of the similes, if they have been rightly explained. This irregularity, however, is scarcely serious enough to override the accumulated evidence of Book VII. about the meaning of the Cave, and if we work backwards from this to the Line, it is difficult not to think that in subdividing the segment which represents the visible kind, Plato is only concerned to elucidate the distinction of sensible and intelligible. This is admittedly not at all obvious from the Line itself, but I have tried to argue that the Line could not have been intended by Plato to explain itself, and when it is read in close conjunction with the Cave, its interpretation can be governed by such information as he has given us about the meaning of the Cave. And on that question Book VII. seems definite enough to give us a fairly clear lead.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the term 'illustrative' still requires some explanation. The division of visibles into image and original is not illustrative in the same sense as their division into dark and bright. The latter is purely illustrative, since brightness does not strictly apply to, but only stands for, the superior intelligibility of *εἶδη* which are not in fact either bright or dark. But *μίμησις* and its correlatives apply, for Plato, equally well at any level; even if he is not entirely satisfied with them, there is no term which he prefers to them as a description of the relationship between *εἶδη* and *τὰ πολλὰ*. In calling the lower subdivision 'illustrative,' therefore, what is meant is that Plato is not seriously concerned at the moment (as he is, e.g., in Book X.) with the internal grading of the phenomenal world. If I am right in arguing that the Line is meant to prepare for the Cave rather than to supply separate and additional information about the Good, then the ultimate purpose of the lower subdivision is to provide a basis of comparison for *ταῖδεα* and *ἀπαιδευσία*. *ἀπαιδευσία* is comparable to *εἰκασία*, *ταῖδεα* to *τίσις*; so also with the two stages of

*ταῖδεα*. The distinction of *eikōnes* and *ἕψα* is metaphysically valid, but they together with *eikasia* and *τίσις* belong to a purely visual experience within which the problems about apparent and real good which Plato is dealing with do not tend to arise. His general argument is that the distinction of appearance from reality applies as definitely in the pursuit of good as in theory; but he does not here point out the superior reality of visible solids in order to convict the unphilosophical of mistaking shadow for substance in their daily concerns (as no doubt he might have done), but to convict them, by analogy, of mistaking phenomenal for real in his usual sense of reality. I understand the whole set of similes as a comparison of *ταῖδεα* with *ἀπαιδευσία* in their effects on the practical life, and the view which I am arguing against is that Plato has any intention here of recognizing a better and a worse within *ἀπαιδευσία*. The references to honours and rewards within the Cave in 516c is clearly contemptuous, for the philosopher judges merit by other standards.

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## TWO NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES' *BIRDS*.

### I. LINES 709-18.

THERE are four problems to be faced in 710-12. Is φράζει correct<sup>1</sup>? Who was Orestes? What is the construction of 'Ορέστη? What is the meaning of ἵνα μὴ ῥιγῶν ἀποδύη? A brief review of the evidence collected on the subject of Orestes is the first essential.

In *Ach.* 1165 sq. we find εἶτα κατάξειέ τις αὐτοῦ μεθῶν τῆς κεφαλῆς 'Ορέστης μαινόμενος. The τις is important—'Some mad Orestes or other.' This reference belongs to the year 425 B.C. The next occurs in a fragment assigned with great probability to the κόλακες of Eupolis,<sup>2</sup> which defeated the 'Peace' in 421. There Orestes is mentioned along with Chaerephon and 'Marpsias'<sup>3</sup> as one of the parasites of Callias, who was engaged in dissipating his recently inherited wealth (cf. *Av.* 283 sqq.). Next come the two references *Av.* 712 and 1490 sqq. These connect Orestes with cloak-snatching as well as violence.

The scholiast on *Ach.* 1167 writes: ὁ δὲ 'Ορέστης οὗτος προσποιούμενος μωρίαν τοῖς παριόντας ἀπέδνευ. This entirely neglects the τις, and may well have been drawn merely from the text and from *Av.* 712, where the note is repeated almost word for word. The note on *Av.* 1487 is more original. It reads: χαρίεντως δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι σκότους οὗτος 'Ορέστης τοῦ Τιμοκράτους ἐλωποδύει τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας· τὰς νύκτας γὰρ μόνος ἐλήστευεν 'Ορέστης.

This circumstantial statement—'Ορέστης τοῦ Τιμοκράτους—led to the belief that a single man, Orestes son of Timocrates, had been active as a highway robber from 425 to 414 B.C. Müller-Strübing<sup>4</sup> ridiculed this notion, emphasizing the τις in *Ach.* 1166 and adducing also Isaeus VIII., where in § 3 Diocles, of the deme Phlya—denounced by his opponents as a forger, murderer, dishonest guardian, and confirmed μοιχός—is referred to as ὁ 'Ορέστης ἐπικαλούμενος; or, later (§ 44), simply as τὸν 'Ορέστην τοῦτον.<sup>5</sup> If the speech was written as early as 383 B.C., it is possible that the same Diocles was notorious at the time of the *Acharnians*. We may suppose, if we like, that he was the first holder of the title 'Orestes,' or the best defender of it. We may also suppose that his father's name was Timocrates. But all this is mere guesswork.

According to Wyse on Isaeus VIII. 3, the name 'Orestes' was employed by the royal house of Macedon, and also by the great Thessalian families (cf. Thuc. I. 111); but there is no trace of it as an Athenian name in ordinary use. We can, I think, only draw the following conclusion with any safety: that from 425 B.C. onwards, if not before, 'Ορέστης was a nickname applied in Athens to any person of violent and drunken nocturnal habits, which included in 414, or thereabouts, the snatching of cloaks. The epithets μαινόμενος (*Ach.* l.c.) and ἥρως (*Av.* 1490) are naturally suggested by the mythical name.

Suidas repeats the Aristophanic scholia, but without mentioning the 'son of Timocrates'; and he adds just a little, describing 'Ορέστη χλαῖναν ὑφαίνειν as a παροιμία, and 'Ορέστης himself as ὁ ἐν ὄρεσι διατρώμενος. This latter statement he supports, rather strangely, by *Ach.* 1167. Probably it derives from Plato *Cratylus*, 394e, where the name of the tragic hero Orestes is praised for its aptness, 'whether

it was given him by chance, or by some poet τὸ θηριῶδες τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὸ ἀγριὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὀρεῖνδον ἐνδεικνύμενος τῷ ὀνόματι. Cf. Photius, 345. 24. 'Ορέστης = ὀρείτης. Finally, there is a play by Timocles called the 'Ορεσταντοκλείδης, of which the remaining fragments certainly suggest that Autocleides was beset by Furies in the shape of courtesans. This reminds us rather of *Av.* 285 sq., where it is said of Callias ὑπὸ τε συκοφαντῶν τίλλεται | αἱ τε θήλειαι προσεκτίλλουσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ πτερά.

In their opinions of Orestes modern critics are sharply divided. Most would agree that by 425 B.C. the name was generic. But how came it to be used at all? For the heroic Orestes, as A. Willems<sup>8</sup> observes, 'n'a jamais passé . . . ni pour un facétieux, ni pour un sacripant.' And what did it signify? A mohock? Or a thief?

Müller-Strübing denied that 'Orestes' could ever have been a true Athenian name. 'Wo finden wir,' he asks, 'solche mythisch-religiöse Heroennamen in den Attischen Familien?' Willems produces heroic names in common use; but not an Orestes; nor does he meet the point that Orestes would have been a name of ill-omen. The only evidence on his side is the scholiast's note 'Ορέστης ὁ Τιμοκράτους. But even that may be held to leave the question open. It is not impossible, as Müller-Strübing suggests, that the Thessalian Crown-prince, Orestes son of Eche-kratides, gave the nickname its origin at a still earlier date; and that the 'son of Timocrates' took it over. After a vain attempt to restore this prince to his kingdom in 455 B.C., the Athenians brought him to their own city (Thuc. I. 111), where, for all we know, his conduct as a chartered libertine may have set the young gentlemen of Athens an entirely new standard of levity.

As to the meaning of the name, the severe penalties attached to λωποδυσία (cf. *Lys. Agor.* 68; *Xen. Mem.* I. 2. 62) offer no good reason for supposing, with Müller-Strübing, that thieves were uncommon and that 'Orestes' must therefore be a mohock. Nor do the prolonged activities (425-414 B.C.) of Orestes, if he was one and the same person throughout, necessarily point in the same direction. Corsican and other bandits, as Willems remarks, have often enjoyed as long an immunity.

Willems also contends that Athens abounded in robbers. To this effect he cites *Ran.* 715, 744; *Eccl.* 668; *Plut.* 930. These references, however, neglect the distinction made by Müller-Strübing between the *Birds* and the other extant plays. In those that precede it he can find no allusion to robbery; and certainly *Vesp.* 247, adduced by Willems, is a very dubious exception. In the five later plays the allusions are of a more general character. Müller-Strübing's conclusion is that lawlessness was epidemic at the time of the *Birds*,<sup>7</sup> and probably due to political causes. If I understand him rightly, 'Orestes' in the *Acharnians* stands for a mohock only. In the *Birds* its meaning is extended to robbers of cloaks who would not scruple to take a purse as well.

Among the editors, Merry and Rogers regard 'Orestes' as a professional thief, addicted especially to λωποδυσία. Van Leeuwen, on the other hand, makes him a mohock who stripped wayfarers for amusement, not gain; and his quotations<sup>8</sup> from Aelian (*Var. Hist.* IX. 29), or from fragments of Alexis (107. K.) and Anaxandrides<sup>9</sup> (34. K.) preserved by Athenaeus, leave little doubt that such a form of sport existed (cf. also *Ran.* 1075). If we turn to *Av.* 712 with our minds shut to everything except these mutually exclusive possibilities, the results are rather perplexing.

Let us begin by supposing that the crane 'warns Orestes to weave himself a cloak.' We cannot then go on to say 'lest, feeling the cold, he strip others.' For why should Orestes, if a mohock, wish to deny himself his winter sport? Or why forego his winter gains, if his profession is to steal? We must therefore translate 'to keep him warm in his depredations' with the emphasis on the participle, which is quite good Greek.

Even so, this will hardly suit Orestes the thief; for no stealer of cloaks would

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bother to weave his own. A mohock is hardly more likely to do so. But as jocular nonsense both notions might pass. There is, however, a certain difficulty in making Orestes the subject of ὑφαίνειν at all. Surely it is easier to suppose, if we read on to the end of 715, that the subjects of ὑφαίνειν, πεκτεῖν, and πωλεῖν are one and the same? But no one would suggest that Orestes is the subject of πεκτεῖν and πωλεῖν. Less serious objections are the use of the active ὑφαίνειν where the middle<sup>10</sup> would seem more in place; and the fact that Suidas quotes 'Ορέστη χλαῖναν ὑφαίνειν as a παροιμία. Suidas, at any rate, cannot have taken the words in the way suggested.

We are thrown back, then, on 'Ορέστη as dative of advantage, as in *Lys.* 586, τῷ δῆμῳ χλαῖναν ὑφαίνειν. But, as Rogers objects, neither the mohock nor the professional thief can be supposed to appropriate cloaks merely because of the cold. We must therefore take ἵνα μὴ ῥιγῶν ἀποδύῃ as before—'to keep him warm in his depredations.' If we are right, as I think we must be, in believing that the subjects of ὑφαίνειν and πωλεῖν are the same, we are then faced with the strangest of paradoxes. Apparently those penurious persons who have to sell their winter clothes in order to provide a ληδάριον for the summer are to weave the mohock a cloak lest he shiver in his sport, or the thief a cloak that he may rob them in comfort.

The way out of this ἀπορία is to regard Orestes neither as a mohock who stole cloaks for mere amusement nor as a professional thief, but as something betwixt and between—in other words, a wild young rake who was apt to fall on evil days and help himself to a cloak at times from sheer necessity. The reference in *Eupolis* Κόλακες to Orestes as a parasite of Kallias is well in keeping with this explanation; and Alexis (fr. 78 K.) will give us a picture of the type:

δοτις ἀγοράζει πτωχὸς ὧν ὄψον πολὺ,  
ἀπορούμενός τε τᾶλλα πρὸς τοῦτ' εὐπορεῖ,  
τῆς νυκτὸς οὗτος τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ποιεῖ  
γυμνοὺς ἅπαντας. εἴτ' ἐπ' ἄν τις ἐκδυθῇ  
τηρεῖν ἔωθεν εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ἰχθύσιν.<sup>11</sup>

If we return now to 712, we are free to suppose that Orestes is warned to weave himself a cloak lest the cold provoke him to steal one. This will pass muster as a serio-comic injunction,<sup>12</sup> parodying Hesiod's manner of showing the evils which attend the improvident. Alternatively, if we end the line 'to keep himself warm,' etc., as before, the idea is good enough. But the old objections remain—that the subjects of ὑφαίνειν and πωλεῖν are best taken to be the same, and that Suidas' παροιμία does not suit this interpretation.

Similarly, if we begin the line the other way—'warns (us) to weave a cloak for Orestes,' ending with 'that he may not feel cold and steal one,' there is no objection to the sense. But the different constructions of the adjacent datives ναυκλήρῳ and 'Ορέστη are confusing, more especially as no subject to ὑφαίνειν is expressed.

These difficulties can all be removed if we adopt the reading found in Zanetti (Venice, 1538) and in four<sup>13</sup> of the other early editions, changing the awkward φράζει to φράζειν and placing a colon after καθεύδειν. The infinitives σπείρειν, φράζειν, ὑφαίνειν will then be jussive, as in the lines of Hesiod (*W.D.* 448-51, 629, 536-38, 545-46) which are parodied; and the passage will gain a good deal if we take ἀποδύῃ not as active but passive. 'Sow, when the crane flies crying over to Libya, and warn the ship-master then to hang up his tiller and rest; then, too, weave Orestes a cloak, to avoid being stripped in the cold.' The last words are like an echo of *W.D.* 538. (πῖλον ἔχειν ἀσκητόν), ἵν' οὐατα μὴ καταδύῃ; and the parody is sufficiently pointed. At Athens, instead of weaving your own cloak warmly, as Hesiod recommends (*W.D.* 538), you must clothe Orestes—if you would keep the cloak you possess.

717-18.

The difficulty in 718 may also, I think, be removed if we keep Hesiod before us. Few edd. are satisfied with γάμον ἀνδρός, which must mean 'marriage with a man,' cf. Theog. 1289, Eur. *Supp.* 824. If women formed part of the audience, it is possible that the words were thrown in for their sake. Willems<sup>14</sup> takes this view, citing *Lys.* 593, *Thesm.* 410, and more especially *Lys.* 596 sq. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς σμικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς, κἂν τούτου μὴ 'πιλάβῃται | οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει γῆμαι ταύτην, ὅττενομένη δὲ κάθηται, with schol. ad loc. περὶ γάμον χρησιμωδομένη· αἱ γὰρ χῆραι συνεχῶς μαντεύονται πότε γεμηθῶσονται. Similarly Professor Marshall Macgregor<sup>15</sup> holds 'that women are included in the subject of *τρέπεσθε*, which is addressed to the audience.' But on reading 708-18 as a whole I do not feel convinced by this theory of a last-moment address to the women. Edd. who feel the same way have provided substitutes for ἀνδρός, without much success. I suggest that they have tried to oust the wrong word, and that γόνον ἀνδρός should be read. The phrase ἀνδρογόνος (ἡμέρα) occurs in *W.D.* 783, 788, 794; and even if it means 'a propitious day for a man to be born,' which is possible, the choice of a day for begetting was also carefully regulated, cf. *W.D.* 812. ἐσθλὴ μὲν γάρ θ' ἢ γε φυτεύμεν ἢ δὲ γενέσθαι | ἀνέρι τ' ἢ δὲ γυναικί. Cf. also 735-36, 800-801. The corruption would be easy once ν was written (as often) in a form resembling μ.

## II. THE BUILDING OF NEPHELOCOCYGIA, LINES 1124-62.

The building of Nephelococcygia is so fantastic a conception that to demand a rigid consistency and a strict regard for the probable would provide material for comedy in itself. On the other hand, it is fair to suppose that a good proportion of the audience would be keenly interested in the operations described, and not altogether uncritical. Aristophanes' own use, in this and other plays, of technicalities derived from the builder's and allied trades should need no illustration; and we find among the play-titles of the Middle Comedy a *Κονιατής*—'Plasterer' accredited to Alexis; another to Amphis; and later a *Πλινθοφόρος* by Diphilus. Just as a caricature, to be amusing, must bear a reasonable likeness to its original, so the account of this fantastic architecture may be held to gain rather than lose by its points of contact with the actual world of bricks and mortar. When it becomes obscure, we may ask without pedantry what the probabilities are, and decide to our own satisfaction whether the fault is more likely to rest with Aristophanes, or with our interpretation of the text, or with the text itself. My own belief is that the text is sound, even in the passage (1150-51) obelized by Hall and Geldart; and that though *ἐπλινθοφόρον* in 1149 might be emended with advantage, emendation cannot be justified until our interpretation of technical terms is more secure.

The messenger's narrative is orderly and coherent as far as line 1146, if we trust the MSS. and follow indications given earlier in the play. First arrive the foundation stones, which are dressed in the approved fashion (1136-38). Then come the bricks (1139). Of these an inner and outer face would be built, to contain a filling of *χάλικες* (rough stones) mixed with *πηλός*, in accordance with the common ancient technique referred to in Thuc. I. 93. 5. We hear of the *χάλικες* in 839, where they are mentioned in close connection with the moistening of clay.<sup>16</sup> Here they are not mentioned again, but the transport of water for the moistening is duly recorded (1140-41), and so too the digging and transport of the clay itself (1142-46).

At this point the difficulties begin to be felt. We are told in 1148-49 that the ducks 'in aprons' were carrying bricks, apparently duplicating the function of the storks (1139). And why do the swallows bring *τὸν πηλόν* in their bills (1151), when the herons were already carrying it in hods (1142)? Editors who wish to eliminate one group of brick carriers usually follow Bergk and read *ἐπλινθοούργουν* in 1139, thus

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making 1140-46 refer to the manufacture of bricks. Some colour is lent to this view at first sight by the parody of Hdt. II. 136, where the inscription on the great brick pyramid of Asychis is given :

κοντῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, ὃ τι πρόσσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῷ κοντῷ,  
τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἶρυσαν καὶ με τρόπον τοιοῦτον ἐξεποίησαν.

It does not, however, follow that the clay delved up by the geese in the same fashion (ὑποτύπτοντες, 1145) was to be used for the same purpose. It would have to serve, in any case, for admixture with χάλικες: and possibly for mortar as well. No inference, therefore, can be drawn from the parody; and there are, I think, good reasons for regarding the introduction of brick-making as unfortunate.

The speedy completion of the wall, as Pisthetairus remarked, 'had truly the appearance of untruth' (1166-67). Respect for τὸ πιθανόν is obviously the reverse of Aristophanes' intention. But there is no reason to widen the breach with Probability. To demand that the bricks should be moulded and also baked in so short a time would be to credit Aristophanes with the merely absurd. It is wrong to suppose, as many do,<sup>17</sup> that a wall of fresh undried bricks (πλίνθοι ὡμαί) was the birds' intention. We are expressly told (552) that the wall is to be built μεγάλας πλίνθους ὅπταις after the model of Babylon; and references to Herodotus in the messenger's opening lines should help to remind us of this fact. Wall-construction in burnt brick was a process unfamiliar in Greece at this time,<sup>18</sup> and therefore all the more stupendous. I see no need to add to the comic exaggeration by supposing any miracle of baking. Let us rather imagine that birds were sent to pillage the brick-yards of the Southern and Eastern world. After all, the θεμέλιοι came from Libya.

Allowing, then, that the MSS. in 1139 are sound, what are we to make of 1148-49? If ἐπλινθοφόρον is to be kept in both places, either we must suppose that both storks and ducks were engaged on the transport of bricks from earth to heaven, or we may argue, with Rogers, that the storks carried up and stacked the bricks, leaving the ducks to carry between the stacks and the wall itself. The former view implies a certain poverty of invention on the part of Aristophanes, and the latter a very considerable obscurity of expression. Both, perhaps, are tenable, if in criticizing Comedy we are accustomed to expect too little rather than too much. On the other hand, all the birds previously mentioned have been assigned some special duty suggested by their habits or appearance or names. It does therefore seem reasonable to suppose that the ducks should have some duty of their own for which their aproned appearance made them especially suitable. I do not agree with W. C. Green, who writes *ad loc.*: 'Of course περιεφωσμένοι means "girt up for the work"; but the marking of the bird's plumage may have suggested it.' References in other authors (though mainly of later date) give the impression that the wearing of a περίζωμα was something more distinctive. Moreover, the commoner species of duck do not gird up their 'aprons,' but wear them well displayed in front.

It seems to me very probable that brick-laying was the task assigned to the ducks.<sup>19</sup> Masons and bricklayers often wear aprons to-day; but no brick-carrier would think of doing so, unless, like Euelpides (840), he were asked to fall off a ladder. Brick-laying was skilled labour, the work of τέκτονες; whereas carrying was done by hired general labourers, μισθωτοί—perhaps Egyptians for choice (cf. 1133). An Eleusinian inscription of 329/8 B.C. makes this distinction clear, unless conditions of labour were greatly changed by that date; for in lines 25-30 payments are recorded successively to τέκτοσιν τοῖς πλινθοβολήσασιν<sup>20</sup> τὰ περὶ τὸν πυλῶνα καὶ τὸν πύργον καὶ τὰ ξύλινα ἔργασαμένους (cf. *Av.* 1153), and to μισθωτοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον καὶ τὸν πυλῶνα πλινθοφοροῦσιν καὶ πηλοδευστοῦσιν ('moistened the clay') καὶ τὰ

ξύλα ἀνακομίσασιν καὶ τὸν κέραμον (Ditt. Syll.<sup>2</sup> 587). When Pisthetairus says in 1152 τί δῆτα μισθωτοὺς ἂν ἐτι μισθοῖτό τις, I take it that he is referring to the swallows as performing some unskilled labour—cf. the reference of τί δῆτα . . . in 1147 to what immediately precedes. I do not wish, however, to press this point, or indeed the point about the aprons, though both are worth bearing in mind.

If the ducks did not act as bricklayers, who did? The swallows, at the best, can only have helped with this heavy task when the bricks were in position. Unless Aristophanes preferred to leave the solution of this problem to the imagination of others, instead of displaying the resourcefulness of his own, I suggest that ἐπλινθοβόλουν in 1149 would be a better remedy to the narrative than ἐπλινθοῦργον ten lines above. That some such word once stood in the text will appear more probable if I am right in my interpretation of the difficult lines which follow, and of the scholiasts' remarks upon them.

Explanations of ὑπαγωγέα may be grouped into two main classes: (A) Some claim, according to the scholia (which are reported more fully by Suidas), that it is an instrument of sorts, whether a plasterer's trowel (πτυνίδιον), or a tool ᾧ ἀπευθύνουσι τὰς πλίνθους πρὸς ἀλλήλας,<sup>21</sup> or another tool, known as a παραξύστον, but not definable. Similarly Pollux mentions ὑπαγωγεύς, ᾧ παρέξουν in a list of builder's tools (vii. 125, cf. x. 127); and Photius has the note ὑπαγωγεύς · ἐργαλείον οἰκοδομικόν. (B) The scholiasts also record a suspicion that the word denotes some kind of clay: εἰ μὴ ἄρα πηλὸν τινα ὑπαγωγέα καλοῦσι. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι Ἑρμιππος ἐν τοῖς Τριμέτροις ἐμφανίζει. Suidas fortunately preserves the missing quotation from Hermippus: ἔννεστι γὰρ [γὰρ δὴ codd. ABOVE] δεσμῶ μὲν οὐδενί τοῖσι δ' [τοῖς δ' cod. A] ὑπαγωγέεσι τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ τρέποισ.

To this we can add Hesychius, who gives only ὑπαγωγεύς · πρὸς πλίνθων οἰκοδομὴν πηλός.

The rest of the scholia can, I think, be safely credited to advocates of Class (B). One reads: Ὅσπερ παιδία · βαστάζονσαι αὐτὸν ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν βαστάζειν τὰ παιδία. And another: Τὸν πηλὸν · ἀσαφῶς λέγει. λέγει γὰρ τὰς χελιδόνας τὸν ὑπαγωγέα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων [τῶν ὤτων V. Qu. τῶν νώτων?] αὐτὰς κομίζειν · τὸν δὲ πηλὸν ἐν τοῖς στόμασιν—καὶ ποιοῦσι ταῦτα θύαν τὰς νεοσσίας κατασκευάζωσιν. That the ὑπαγωγεύς was carried on the shoulders is a notion derived either from constructing ἄνω with ἔχονσαι κατόπιν (cf. J. W. White<sup>22</sup> *ad loc.*), or from the variant πῖλον, meaning perhaps 'a porter's knot,' which has replaced πηλὸν as an explanation of ὑπαγωγέα in two of the later MSS. (B and C) of Suidas; but I think we can rule πῖλον out as a mistake simply due to itacism. The swallows are conceived by the originators of these notes to carry τὸν ὑπαγωγέα pick-a-back, as people carry children. Since αὐτὰς must mean 'of their own nature,' 'unaided,' it is probable that ὑπαγωγεύς was taken as = πηλός τις. A swallow does not of its own nature carry anything even remotely resembling a builder's implement upon its shoulders (ὤμων) or back (νώτων V). But it can be supposed to carry some clay. For, as Aristotle observed, when in need of moist clay for nesting βρέχουσα αὐτὴν καλινδείται τοῖς πτεροῖς πρὸς τὴν κόνιν (H.A. IX. 7. 612b). Possibly a recollection of Thuc. IV. 4. 2 lent some force to this view of the passage. We are told that the Athenians, in fortifying Pylos—τὸν πηλὸν, εἴ που δέοι χρῆσθαι, ἀγγείων ἀπορία ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου ἔφερον, ἐγκεκυφότες τε, ὡς μάλιστα μέλλοι ἐπιμένειν, καὶ τὸ χεῖρε ἐς τοῦπίσω ξυμπλέκοντες ὅπως μὴ ἀπολείπτοι.

The sense, then, was supposed to be: 'carrying (as it were a child) the ὑπαγωγέα on their shoulders behind; the clay, in their mouths.' This attempt to wring a meaning and construction from the Greek seems to me no more ridiculous than the interpretations of many modern commentators.

Scholia of Class (A) are interesting because they imply some mention of brick-laying at this point in the narrative, or at any rate express an early demand for it. No record remains of how it was proposed to interpret the passage as a whole if

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*ὑπαγωγεύς* was an implement. But there is not much choice, except to join together the words *τὸν ὑπαγωγέα ἔχουσαι κατόπιν* so as to mean 'with tails for (?) trowels,' and then assume either that the ducks' tails are meant (and punctuate accordingly): or that the swallows carried trowels behind and clay before. On both assumptions the Greek remains intractable as it stands, especially the words *ὥσπερ παιδία* and the asyndeton between 1150 and 1151. To the unprejudiced observer a duck's tail, both in its shape and its movement, is far more suggestive of a bricklayer's or a plasterer's trowel than is a swallow's or even a house-martin's. But if that is the picture intended, *ἐπλινθοβόλουν*, or some such word, must have stood in the text, unless brick-carrying and brick-laying, in the minds of Aristophanes and some of his scholiasts, were one and the same thing.

Among moderns, believers in Class (A) have been numerous, and still exist, undeterred by the inscriptional evidence, such as it is, to which I shall come later. I can give only a representative selection of their views, omitting those who, like Dobree, assume a lacuna in the text.

Most, if not all, of them reject other builder's implements and pin their faith to the trowel: and the trowel to the swallow. Brunck preferred the duck, regarding 1151 as spurious, partly because of the asyndeton, and partly because he felt the swallows' clay to be superfluous in view of 1142-45. I sympathize with his allocation of the trowel, but not with his treatment of 1151. It is also objected (by Blaydes *ad loc.*) that an upward flight is far from characteristic of the duck.

Rutherford had points in common with Brunck. Though he did not abolish the swallows altogether, he deprived them of their clay, which is surely their most obvious contribution to the work of building. But I mention him next for contrast rather than comparison. By inventing a variant *κατὰ παῖν*<sup>23</sup> for *κατόπιν* and then re-writing the scholium in R in such a way as to suit it and also make complete nonsense, he was able to remove as glosses-crept-into-the-text all the words from *ὥσπερ* to *στόμασιν*, thus leaving the swallows rather than the ducks to carry their trowels behind them. They carried nothing besides: so that Rutherford may be regarded as a purist of the swallow-cum-trowel school. I should add that he chose this passage to illustrate 'the bearing of a new papyrus on some cardinal points in textual criticism' (C.R. 1891, p. 89), and that his solution won assent in high places (cf. C.R. 1891, p. 309) until his critical methods were discredited. He was the first to admit a mistake, and I speak of him only with the highest respect.

F. Wieseler,<sup>24</sup> in his later work, appears to have been converted from his original belief in *ὑπαγωγεύς* as = *πηλός τις*; but not from his belief that *κατόπιν* meant simply 'behind,' i.e. 'in attendance upon' the ducks. He imagined that the sticks and straws which swallows carry were seen by Aristophanes as a rough equivalent to trowels; but thinking that the double burden of trowel and clay would overload so small a bird, he altered *παιδία* to *παιδί*, ἡ, meaning that some of the swallows held up (*ἄνω ἔχουσιν*) their make-believe trowels for the use of the ducks, and others their morsels of clay. Thus Wieseler, by allowing the swallow an optional trowel only, may be held to stand midway between Rutherford, the purist of the school, and the more unscrupulous sect which derives from Blaydes.

Blaydes, in his edition of 1882, was the father of those who, like Rogers (Ed. 1906, p. 289), find it 'impossible to deprive the swallows of either the clay or the trowel.' He suggested three different corrections to achieve this result, finally printing *καὶ for τὸν* in 1151. Merry followed suit; but being, as Van Leeuwen puts it, an 'emunctae naris interpres,' records a suspicion 'that the flat tail of the duck rather than the forked tail of the swallow may represent the trowel' (Ed. 1904 *ad loc.*). Rogers is more whole-hearted. He recalls the familiar sight of 'the house-martin flying up to her unfinished nest with bits of mud in her mouth, or, at a later period, the male bird clinging to the finished nest, and keeping himself steady by pressing

his tail firmly against it, for all the world as if he were smoothing the surface with a trowel.' 'It is difficult,' he adds, 'not to feel some impatience with those who would mutilate or destroy this homely and graphic little picture.'

'Ὡς περ παιδία, by those who follow Blaydes, is usually translated 'like serving-lads.' This meaning is quite legitimate, as will presently be shown. But if the preceding words have to be translated 'carrying their trowels behind them,' the interposition of the simile is, to say the least, embarrassing. There is nothing to show us, until we reach the swallows at the end of the following line, that κατόπιν must be joined with ἔχουσαι; and when this discovery is made, we have to reconsider the simile and decide that it must refer to the general function of serving lads, and not, in their case, to any posterior attachment of a trowel. O. Schroeder, who produced in 1927 a revision of Kock's edition, has been at pains to avoid this difficulty. He claims that the scholium βαστάζονσαι αὐτὸν ὥς περ εἰώθασι βαστάζειν τὰ παιδία makes everything plain. We are to translate it<sup>26</sup> 'carrying the trowel in the children's way of carrying,' with παιδία as subject to εἰώθασι; and are then required to believe that the comparison is obvious, 'except that children drag behind them, or hang over their shoulders, any object that they cannot carry in their hands, whereas Nature has permanently attached to the swallow a builder's implement in the shape of a forked tail.' Ὡς περ παιδία is then placed between commas; τὸν πηλὸν . . . στόμασιν between dashes; and assurances are given that the asyndeton between the latter words and τὸν ὑπαγωγέα ἔχουσαι κατόπιν is unobjectionable, because ἔχουσαι can be felt to go with both. I cannot, however, assent to this interpretation until its author produces another asyndeton of the same kind, or a bricklayer who works with a forked trowel.

It is time to come to the inscriptional evidence on the meaning of ὑπαγωγεύς, which influenced Van Leeuwen in his edition of 1902, but has left both Rogers and Schroeder quite unmoved. In line 32 of the Eleusinian inscription<sup>26</sup> already cited, payments are recorded ἐπιξέσται<sup>27</sup> καὶ ὑπαγω[γ]εῖ τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις ἐπὶ τῷ πυλῶνι καὶ τῷ πύργῳ. This makes it clear that ὑπαγωγεύς, in one sense at any rate, meant a skilled workman concerned with the building of a wall. In *Av.* 1149 this sense is quite impossible, unless our text is hopelessly corrupt. But the same inscription, in lines 61-62, provides a noun of the same form, ἐπαγωγεύς, which denotes not a person, but a thing. Payments are made to μισθωτοῖς τοῖς τὴν γῆν βωλοκοπήσασιν ('broke up') καὶ διατήσασιν ('sifted') εἰς τὸν ἐπαγωγέα τοῦ τείχους καὶ εἰς τοὺς πύργους καὶ εἰς τὴν περιὰλ(ο)φὴν τοῦ τείχους.

On ἐπαγωγεύς Dittenberger writes: 'uix dubitare licet, quin calx (πηλός) qua murus inducitur, hic significetur. Vide ne apud Aristophanem *Av.* 1149 aut ex hoc titulo ἐπαγωγέα pro ὑπαγωγέα reponendum, aut certe illud uocabulum eadem atque hoc ui accipiendum sit.' The meaning 'a coat of clay upon a wall' is accepted in the new edition of Liddell and Scott; so, too, the possibility that ἐπαγωγέα should be substituted in our text of the play. But we are cautioned that the verb ἐξυπάγειν occurs in *I.G.* 2<sup>2</sup>, 463. 42—the *Lex de reficiendis muris Atheniensibus urbanis Piraeensibus* 'Longis' of 307/6 B.C.—which reads: ἐξυπάγων πηλῷ ἢ[χρ]ωμένῳ, i.e. 'going over thoroughly,' 'coating' (so L. and S.) with a mixture of clay and chaff. The context immediately preceding refers, in all probability, to the dressing (ἐπικόπτων) of the rough-stone foundation (λιθολογήματα); but a gap after ἢ[χρ]ωμένῳ makes it impossible to say for what purpose the clay was to serve, or whether any ingredient besides chaff was to be used with it. (It is also noteworthy that in the Eleusinian inscription, line 74, we hear of ἀχύρων σάκοι εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ τείχους.)

To sum up the inscriptional and other evidence: There is no confirmation of ὑπαγωγεύς in the sense of a builder's implement. On the other hand, it is clear that the word could mean a workman of sorts employed about a wall; and it is probable, on the close analogy of ἐπαγωγεύς, that it could also mean the thing with which his

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work was concerned.<sup>28</sup> Further, *πηλός ἡχυρωμένος* and a verb *ἐξυπάγειν* are brought into connection with reference to the building of a wall; and we have the suspicion of the scholiasts, together with the word of Hesychius, that *ὑπαγωγεύς* = *πηλός τις*. In support of this meaning there is also the fragment from the *Τρίμετροι* of Hermippus: *Ξύνεστι γὰρ δεσμῷ μὲν οὐδενί· τοῖσι δ' ὑπαγωγέουσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ τρόποις*.

This fragment is important, because it uses the word in the plural, and also, by association with *δεσμῷ*, helps to indicate the meaning more precisely. Those who insist that *ὑπαγωγεύς* can be only an implement (or the man who uses it) have to suppose that *ὑπ-* and *ἐπ-αγωγεύς* were confused<sup>29</sup> from an early period in the text or lexicons or both; and that the fragment was adduced originally in support of *ὑπαγωγεύς*, not as *πηλός τις*, which, in their opinion, would apply to *ἐπαγωγεύς* alone, but as = *ἐργαλεῖον οἰκοδομικὸν ᾧ ἀπευθύνουσι τὰς πλίνθους πρὸς ἀλλήλας*. Piccolomini sees in this implement a *σταφύλη* or 'rule and plummet.' This would give the sense 'No *δεσμός* holds him together: his own character keeps him straight.'<sup>30</sup> Hence Van Leeuwen's explanation of the workman called *ὑπαγωγεύς* as: 'Vir qui curat ut murus bene rectus exstruatur' . . . 'Nam quemadmodum ὑπογράφειν est magistri lineas in pugillaribus ducentis quas sequantur manus imperitae puerorum (cf. Plat. *Protag.* 336d), sic ὑπάγειν est eius qui alterum inducit quo velit ipse (cf. Plat. *Euthyd.* 14c).'

If we assent to this, we can preserve the text in 1149 by supposing that the swallows provided the implement in question. But, as Van Leeuwen remarks, 'errorunt qui caudam bifurcam hirundinum respici, hanc autem structorum instrumento triangulari (libellae siue perpendiculo) assimilari sibi persuaserunt.' The alternative (which he adopts) is to write *ἐπ-* for *ὑπ-αγωγή* in the text, and regard *τὸν πηλόν* as a gloss upon it, or as standing in apposition.

But is not the Hermippus equally intelligible if we accept it as illustrating *ὑπαγωγεύς* in the sense of *πηλός τις*, relying on the inscriptional phrase *ἐξυπάγων πηλῷ ἡχυρωμένῳ*? The meaning will be: 'No *δεσμός* holds him together: his own character serves for bonding-matter.' *Δεσμός*, as an architectural term, includes clamps and dowels and other kinds of bonds, such as were used to hold the superstructure to its foundation, or the successive courses of masonry to one another, or the faces of a wall to its rubble core. Mortar of various kinds could be used for the same purposes; and I take it that a *δεσμός* of wood or other material was sometimes necessary until the mortar solidified. It seems reasonable to conclude that *ὑπαγωγεύς* could mean a layer<sup>31</sup> of mortar, and that Hermippus is saying 'He won't go to pieces now: his character is set.'

In Babylon asphalt served for mortar (*τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ*, Hdt. I. 179). But Aristophanes is not following Herodotus in every detail; for example, we hear nothing of *χάλικες* in Herodotus, and in Aristophanes nothing of the layers of wattled reeds employed at Babylon. Wall-construction in burnt brick was Oriental, not Greek; asphalt was also unfamiliar; and it is doubtful whether *τέλμα* in the sense of 'mortar' was Attic usage at this time. Aristophanes, to suit his audience, compromised between the brickwork of the East and West, and *ὑπαγωγεύς* is, I think, his equivalent for the mortar of asphalt. It is what he imagined a Greek would use for a wall of the Eastern material; just as Vitruvius, writing for the Romans, says: 'It is not every place that can have a wall of burnt-brick like that of Babylon, where there was plenty of asphalt to take the place of lime and sand' (I. 5. 8). We are told that lime-mortar, though used both in prehistoric and historic times, never took an important place in Greek architecture.<sup>32</sup> I doubt, therefore, whether *ὑπαγωγεύς* can have that sense. All I would suggest is that it was something rather different from the *πηλός* used in the rubber core, and similar in some of its properties to *πηλός ἡχυρωμένος*, but not necessarily the same thing. Here let me add that *πηλός ἡχυρωμένος* is precisely the material from which the swallow builds her nest (cf.

Arist. *H.A.* IX. 7. 612b συγκαταπλέκει . . . τοῖς κάρφεσι πηλόν, or Gilbert White, *The Natural History of Selborne*, Letter 18, 'Her nest . . . consists . . . of a crust or shell composed of dirt or mud, mixed with short pieces of straw to render it tough and permanent.'

If this meaning 'mortar' be granted for ἵπαγωγεύς, what are we to make of ἐπαγωγεύς? All I can suggest is that ἵπαγωγεύς was used in the actual building up of a wall for binding; and that ἐπαγωγεύς was a coating of something 'tough and permanent' placed on the top. When walls are made of sun-dried brick, or other friable matter, some kind of 'topping' is essential, as we know from Vitruvius (II. 8. 16) or from 'cob' walls in parts of England to-day. The broken and sifted γῆ from which ἐπαγωγεύς was compounded served also for a protective coat on the face of the wall (εἰς τὴν περιαλ(ο)μὴν τοῦ τείχους). It is therefore not unlikely that the ἐπαγωγεύς itself was a top-coating of similar kind, but tougher in its composition, especially if the wall-top was to form a roadway. I speak with extreme diffidence in this matter, and can only appeal to archaeologists.

To return to the text. Van Leeuwen, reading ἐπαγωγή, transposed 1150 and 1151. He gives the sense as 'post anates ueluti puerulos secutos esse alites exiguos calcem ore tenentes nuntius dicit,' and adds 'manet molestum τὸν πηλόν, quod glossema uidetur ad τὸν ἐπαγωγή pertinens.'

Apart from the substitution of ἐπ- for ὑπ-αγωγή, which is hardly justified in the present state of our knowledge, there are three objections to this reading. The transposition in itself is a violent remedy, supported only by the Cod. Urbinas,<sup>33</sup> where, however, the order of the lines as found in the rest of the MSS. is carefully indicated. It also spoils the rhetorical force of the passage, which depends on keeping αἱ χελιδόνες in suspense; and finally, I believe that τὸν πηλόν can be better explained if we keep the existing order.

My reasons for this belief must wait. Meanwhile I should mention two points on which I agree with Van Leeuwen, though I must qualify his statement of the first and amplify the second. In opposition to those who believe that the swallow's tail can represent a builder's implement he writes: 'κατόπιν non in ipsorum tergo significat, neque cum uerbo ἔχειν jungi potest.' The facts, as far as I have been able to discover them, are these: In Aristophanes κατόπιν, whether used absolutely or with a dependent genitive, always means 'after' or 'behind' in order of time or procession; and never has reference to the spatial relationship of the hind- to the fore-quarters of the same person or thing—as, for example, in the English 'Leave them alone, and they'll come home | Wagging their tails behind them.' In 1150 it is therefore safer to join it with ἐπέτοντ' than with ἔχουσαι. The only instance to the contrary I know is Hipp. *Mul.* I. 12, ἡτρεῖη ἦδε ἀρίστη, φάρμακον μαλθακτῆριον κατόπιν τε καὶ ἐς τοῦμπροσθεν. In Aesch. *Ag.* 115 ὁ τ' ἐξόπιν ἀργῆς in all probability means 'the white-tailed eagle'; but that is not the same word.

I also agree with the interpretation which Van Leeuwen accepts of ὥσπερ παιδία. The contrast between the swallows and the larger birds almost calls for some such picture; and there is no difficulty in the use of παιδίον as 'a young slave.' L. and S.<sup>34</sup> cite only *Nub.* 132 παῖ, παιδίον, and *Ran.* 37 παιδίον, παῖ, ἡμί, παῖ for this sense, both of which remind us rather of *Nub.* 221 ὦ ΣώκρATES, ὦ Σωκρατίδιον. But Ditt. *Syll.* 38. 27 (415/14 B.C.) gives us Κάρ παῖς and Καρικὸν παιδίον among the sold-up properties of men condemned 'hermarum et mysteriorum causa,' which should settle any doubts in the matter. There is also a statement in Professor Glotz's *Ancient Greece at Work* (pp. 282/3, Eng. trn.) which may be relevant. He mentions payments made during the years 395-91 B.C. 'to a gang of bricklayers, consisting of a master-mason and two lads.' Unfortunately no reference is given; and I have been unable to trace the source of this statement and check the language used even with the generous help of Mr. M. N. Tod.



The way is now cleared for a translation of the lines, reading *ἐπλινθοβόλουν*:

'And damme if the ducks, with aprons on,  
Weren't laying bricks! Behind them, for the mortar  
Bearing their clay in bill (as little lads  
Will serve a mason), up the swallows flew.'

This is fairly near the translation suggested by Wieseler<sup>34</sup> in his earlier days, when he accepted *τὸν ὑπαγωγέα* as meaning 'lutum, quo utuntur caementarii ad lateres coagmentandos.' But I differ from him on two points: for he regarded *τὸν πηλόν* as a correcting or explanatory term loosely appended to *τὸν ὑπαγωγέα* (adducing as a parallel 388 sqq. *καὶ τὸ δόρυ χρή, τὸν ὀβελίσκον | περιπατεῖν ἔχοντας ἡμᾶς | τῶν ὀπλων ἐντός*—'the spear, I mean the spit'); and he joined *ἄνω* with *ἔχουσαι*, 'holding up the clay in their bills.'

The construction he assumes for *τὸν πηλόν*, especially if *ἄνω ἔχουσαι* is to be taken as he wishes, would probably require the transposition of 1150 and 1151, so that *τὸν πηλόν* can immediately correct or explain *τὸν ὑπαγωγέα*, just as *τὸ δόρυ* is followed almost at once by *τὸν ὀβελίσκον*. I prefer to think that the bare bones of the construction are *τὸν ὑπαγωγέα ἔχουσαι τὸν πηλόν*, 'to serve as the mortar they had (or 'carried') their morsels of clay.' Such appositions are fairly common with *λαμβάνειν* and *χρῆσθαι*<sup>35</sup>: cf. (a) Ar. *Nub.* 178 *κάμψας ὀβελίσκον εἶτα διαβήτην λαβών*, 'bent a skewer, then took it to serve as compasses'; or (b) Hdt. I. 179 *τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῃ θερμῇ*. But they occur with other verbs; cf. (c) Hdt. II. 155 *τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπικέεται λίθος*, 'to serve as the surface of the roof another slab is laid on top.' Some simple examples with *ἔχειν* are given in L. and S.<sup>36</sup>, viz. (d) Soph. *Tr.* 1188 *Ζῆν' ἔχων ἐπώμοτον*, and (e) Eur. *Hērph.* 953 *Ὀρφέα τ' ἄνακτ' ἔχων*. To these may be added (f) Ar. *frag.* 546 *καὶ τὴν κυνὴν ἔχειν με κυρβασίαν ἐρείς*, 'to serve as a *κυρβασία*;' and (g) Hyper. *Εἰρή.* 27, *παῖδες ἐφ' ὁδὸν εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὖνοιαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀπολωλότων ἀρετῆν . . . ἀλλὰ τῶν τὸ ζῆν εἰς αἰώνιον τάξιν μετῃλλαχότων ἔξουσιν*. Rather different, perhaps, are Hdt. VII. 64 *ἀξίνας σαγάρεις ἔχον*, and III. 12, *πίλους τιάρας φορέοντες*, in both of which the foreign word is immediately appended, as if in brackets or inverted commas, to the familiar Greek term.

I do not think that the presence of the definite article both with *ὑπαγωγέα* and *πηλόν* is any objection to the construction as I understand it. The rule for its use in these appositions is simply that you say what you mean to say: just as in predications the article cannot always be dispensed with, e.g. Hdt. VII. 142 *τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τέχος εἶναι* (cf. Kühner-Gerth, *op. cit.* 461, A, 4). In (c) above *τὸ καταστέγασμα* corresponds exactly to *τὸν ὑπαγωγέα*; and in (f) *τὴν κυνὴν* to *τὸν πηλόν*, 'their clay.' It is perhaps significant that many of these parallels come from Herodotus, who was no doubt in Aristophanes' mind at the time of writing. Among them (b) is taken from the very passage he is parodying, and like (c) describes building operations. To add the fragment of Hermippus, with its double use of the article, is, at any rate, a temptation.

As to the construction of *ἄνω*, I prefer to join it with *ἐπέοντ'*. Here again a possible objection turns on the use of the article. If *τὸν ὑπαγωγέα ἔχουσαι τὸν πηλόν* is to mean 'with their clay to serve as mortar,' it may be argued that the prepositional phrase *ἐν τοῖς στόμασιν* is left to depend on *τὸν πηλόν*. One could quote such parallels as Thuc. II. 31 *οἱ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν*, or Ar. *Ach.* 636 *πρότερον δ' ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐξαπατῶντες . . . ἰσοτεφάνους ἐκάλουν*.<sup>36</sup> But there is no need to resort to these. Just as in (f) *ἔχειν* means 'to wear,' not only 'to have,' *τὴν κυνὴν* in lieu of a *κυρβασία*, so here *ἔχουσαι* means also 'to carry.' And I don't see what else Aristophanes could have written. For

τὸν πηλὸν τὸν ἐν τοῖς στόμασιν ὁ τὸν ἐν τοῖς στόμασι πηλὸν (if metrically practicable) would either refer to such mud as was present in their bills at the time, or imply that a mouthful of mud is the permanent adjunct of a swallow: a notion that can only commend itself to those who equip the poor bird with a trowel or a rule-and-plummet for a tail.

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<sup>1</sup> It is omitted by A. (*Par. inter reg.* 2712), and certainly awkward. Blaydes, following Meineke (*Vindic.*, p. 100), preferred to read τῷ ναυκλήρῳ φράζῃ. <sup>2</sup> Fr. 166. Cf. 165 (K.).

<sup>3</sup> Müller-Strübing, *Ar. und die Historische Kritik* (1873), p. 326 sqq., suggests that Marpsias = Ktesias. Cf. also *Ach.* 702.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 29 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Themistius, *Quomodo philos.* etc. (Dind., p. 398), 'Τρέβολος ὁ λυχνόποδος καὶ Διοκλῆς ὁ λωποδύτης καὶ Μεληρίδης ὁ ἀνέστης' is of interest, but need not be more than a hasty inference from *Av.* 712 and 1490 sqq. Cf. Müller-Strübing, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Bull. d. Acad. roy. d. Belg.* 1903, pp. 647 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> N.B. also Euelpides' adventure, 496 sqq.; which is brought into connexion with Andoc. *de Myst.* 37 sq., by W. L. Lorimer, *C.R.* XXIX. (1915), p. 111.

<sup>8</sup> *Ad Ach.* 1166.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Aristophan., fr. 4 (K), which also gives nicknames drawn from mythology.

<sup>10</sup> As in Plat. *Phaed.* 87a. θοιμάτιον ὃ ἡμπελχετο αὐτὸς ὑφηνάμενος. In Plat. *Hipp. mi.* 368c. ὑποδήματα ἃ εἶχε ἐφῆσθα αὐτὸς σκυντομοῆσαι καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ὑφῆσαι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνίσκον the point is that the garments are his own manufacture, not that he manufactured garments for himself to wear. So, too, in Plat. *Charm.*, 161c τοῦ νόμου τοῦ κελεύοντος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἱμάτιον ἕκαστον ὑφαίνειν καὶ πλύνειν—'each man must be his own manufacturer.' But I don't think this point can be pressed.

<sup>11</sup> Cited by Van Leeuwen *ad Aves* 1490: rather inconsistently with the view he takes in his note on *Ach.* 1166.

<sup>12</sup> There are some rather avuncular injunctions elsewhere in the *Birds*, e.g. to the παρπαλοῖας 1360-69, and the συκοφάντης 1433-35, 1446-49. But Orestes is not elsewhere treated seriously; and ἀπόδυσσις is usually material for a joke. Cf. *Ecc.* 667-71, or *Ran.* 1075.

<sup>13</sup> Farreus (Ven. 1542), Grynaeus (Frankfurt, 1544), Rapheleng (Leyden, 1600), Scaliger (Leyden, 1624).

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit. Notes supplémentaires sur les Oiseaux d'Ar.*, p. 671.

<sup>15</sup> The *Birds* and *Frogs* translated (1927), p. 120.

<sup>16</sup> πηλὸν . . . ὀργασσον. Pearson *ad Soph. frag.* 482 (cf. *frag.* 510, 787) writes: 'The passage in *Ar. (Av.* 839) shows that the phrase (π. ὀργάζειν) was particularly applicable to the preparation of mortar or concrete for building

operations.' Surely this is more natural than to suppose that 839 refers to the mixing of material for making bricks?

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. *Figlinum*, p. 1119.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. D. S. Robertson, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, pp. 4 and 235.

<sup>19</sup> F. Wieseler, I find, had the same thought. Cf. *Nov. sched. crit. in Ar. Av.* attached to *Index scholarum* . . . in *Acad. Georg. Augusta habitarum Oct.* 1882-Mar. 1883, p. 17: 'mentionem murorum aedificationis . . . ab Aristophane omnino non esse factum, tam est mirum, ut Meinekius, Dindorfius, Kockius suo iure in Vs. 1050 inter κατόπιν et ὥστε excidisse nonnulla verba statuerint.' He suggests ἐπλωθῖφουν = 'lateres texuerunt' for ἐπλωθοφόρουν, comparing πλωθυφῆς Aesch. *P.V.* 450, and adding 'accedit, quod etiam uerbum περιεζωσμένοι magis ad opifices quam ad baiulos aptum est.' In νῆτται he thinks there may have been a play on νῆσαι, cf. πυράν, ξύλα, βῶμον νῆσαι. (Similarly the storks are given their task because their name suggested the τείχος Πελαργικόν). In defence of ἐπλωθῖφουν one might add Plat. *Critias* 116b (τὰ οἰκοδομήματα) μειγνύντες τοὺς λίθους ποικίλα ὑφαίνειν.

<sup>20</sup> In I.G. 2<sup>2</sup> 463, 54-58 (307/6 B.C.) πλωθοβολήσκει occurs; and also the phrase ἐπιπλωθοβολήσκει [ἐξ στοιχείου which must mean 'lay six courses of brick on top.' The sense 'to repair with brickwork' ('repiquage') Daremberg and Saglio s.v. *structura*, p. 1151) is sometimes possible; but not, I think, the sense πλωθουλκεῖν 'to make bricks' which H. Van Herwerden suggests (*Lex. Graec. Supplet.* s.v. βάλλειν, q.v. for further reff.). L. and S.<sup>9</sup> translate πλ. βάλλειν and ἀναβάλλειν as 'to lay bricks'; so too ἐπιπλωθοβολεῖν sup.

<sup>21</sup> Very likely the word προσαγωγέων accounts for this interpretation. It occurs in Plat. *Phileb.* 56c, with the scholium τεκτονικὸν ἐστὶν ὄργανον ὃ προάγοντες εὐθύνουσι τὰ στρεβλά ξύλα; and also in Ditt. *Syll.* 2 540, 118. (Cf. Van Leeuwen's note on 1149.)

<sup>22</sup> 'The Scholia on the *Aves* of Aristophanes' (1914): from which all the scholia quoted in this article are reported.

<sup>23</sup> Hesych. gives παῖν = παῖδα; and pronounced παῖν the form occurs in Ap. Rhod. and the Anthology (Rutherford).

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> With the help of a reference to Piccolomini, *Rendic. Acad. Linc.*, 1893, V. 2, 101 sqq.

<sup>26</sup> The part of this inscription here quoted was first published in 1883 (*C. I. Att.* II. 2, p. 516, n. 834B).

<sup>27</sup> 'Qui muro perfecto quae adhuc restant in superficie lapidum aspera et inaequalia laevigat. Cf. v. 177 τοῖς ἀποξέσασιν τὰς παρασάδας' (Dittenberger). On Van Leeuwen's explanation of ὑπαγωγεύς, see below, p. 111.

<sup>28</sup> Van Leeuwen, *Enchiridion Dict. Epicae*<sup>2</sup>, p. 256, groups ὑπαγωγεύς (if it means an implement) with such words as πριγύς, βυτήρ, μετρητής. The suffixes, denoting the activities of persons, were extended 'by a kind of animism' to things of similar function. Cf. the substantival use of the masc. partic. τέτων, ἀμείβοιτες. On ὑπαγωγεύς = 'calx quo murus inducitur' he writes: 'Est inter artis vocabula, quae in -εύς desinunt, referendum; sed notabile hoc habet, quod non τὸ ἐπάγων significat, sed τὸ ἐτέρῳ τιμὴ ἐπαγόμενον . . . similes sunt ἀμφιφορεῖς amphora quae utrimque portatur, στροφεὺς cardo in quo versatur ianua, cf. etiam ἐπίστατον id in quo stat (collocatur) olla, et eadem ratione formatum esse germanicum überzieher (vestem "qua quis induitur") observat amicus collega Hartman.' English can add 'drawers,' and American 'pull-over.'

<sup>29</sup> For this confusion Piccolomini, *Rendic.*

*Acad. Linc.* 19 Feb. 1893' (cited by Van Leeuwen), compares *Plut.* 548 ὑπεκρούσω, where Pollux has ὑπεκρούσω.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Plaut. *Most.* I. 2. 17 sqq., esp. 34, 35 sqq., for an expansion of the metaphor into a simile of 28 lines. I cannot find a parallel to this use of ξύρεσσι, but it does not seem impossible.

<sup>31</sup> I choose the word 'layer' because, like ὑπαγωγεύς, it applies equally well to the mortar as laid and to the man who lays it.

<sup>32</sup> D. S. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 233. On various kinds of lime-mortar cf. *Vitr.* II. 5.

<sup>33</sup> As reported by J. W. White and E. Cary, 'Collations of the MSS. of Ar. *Aves*,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XXIX. (1918).

<sup>34</sup> *Adv.*, p. 121, as reported by Blaydes in 1882. Cary also took ὑπαγ. to be 'a kind of cement or mortar' in loose apposition to πηλόν. W. C. Green, if ὑπαγ. can = 'mortar', suggests punctuating after κατόπιν and πηλόν, — 'as bricklayers' boys carry the mortar'; but this throws too much emphasis on ἐν τοῖς στόμασιν and retards the movement of the passage as a whole.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Gram. d. gr. Sprache*<sup>2</sup>, § 406. 5.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Kühner-Gerth, *op. cit.*, § 464. 1.

## A MEDIAEVAL EXCERPTOR OF THE ELDER PLINY.

EDITORS of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* have not had to deplore the paucity of the MS. tradition, but rather its value; while MSS. belonging to the *ordo recentiorum* are numerous and fairly complete, those of the *ordo vetustiorum* are very few, and never contain more than a few books, often with considerable gaps. They are<sup>1</sup> A ii 196-vi 51, M xi-xv, P and H parts of xviii, I xxiii, xxv, B xxxii-xxxvii (end). There are also some scattered fragments. Detlefsen<sup>2</sup> indeed claimed that the restoration of the original text of the *N.H.* is more difficult than that of any other Latin author owing to the mutilated and defective transmission of considerable parts.

But as a result of the vast range of subjects with which he dealt Pliny was excerpted time and again by well-known compilers like Solinus, Martianus Capella, Bede, and Dicuil, as also by others of lesser note. The latter include—(1) *excerpta Eboracensia* of books ii and xviii of the eighth century, produced under the influence of Bede (m); (2) excerpts of ii-iv, vi—two MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries (y); (3) the very extensive *defloratio Pliniana* of the whole *N.H.* made in the twelfth century by Robert Cricklade for the use of Henry II of England (o). This excerptor has been used in the Teubner text only as far as viii 146. All three excerptors have been edited by Rück, whose examination has shown that their text rests on a MS. tradition connected with the older archetype. Rück<sup>3</sup> has recently pointed out that there exists another MS. of excerpts at Montpellier. This MS. I was able to examine a short time ago in Paris.<sup>4</sup> It belongs to the École de Médecine of Montpellier, and is No. 473 quarto on vellum of the twelfth century. The MS. was written at Clairvaux, and the history of its transference to its present home is clear. Like other MSS. of the Abbey of Clairvaux it came into the possession of Troyes, and was one of those examined by the citizen Chardon-la-Rochette when he came there in 1804 by order of the infant French Republic on his mission of inspection. With him in his laborious three months' task was associated Prunelle, Professor in the Faculty of Medicine in Montpellier. The result of their visit was that he put *en réserve* 147 volumes of MSS. and Prunelle 328, all of which were to be transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. But as a result of new considerations 323 MSS. were consigned to the Medical School of Montpellier, including those excerpts of Pliny which were No. 93 on Prunelle's list. The MS. has 117 folios, of which up to the first side of 116 are text, the other side of 116 and both sides of 117 being filled with lists in four columns of the authors, Latin and Greek, used by Pliny, two columns of each side by side. The excerptor has succeeded in producing an equal number of Latin and Greek authors by making the *medici* Latin instead of Greek. The side of the folio averages 39 lines of writing. The MS. begins with ii 1 and ends xxxi 97, *pensat* followed by *finit Plinius in xxx libris* in red ink; but after that another five lines and a word from xviii 322 have been added, followed by *finit Plinius* in ordinary black ink. It is, however, wrong to suppose that xxxi 97 is the last passage excerpted,<sup>5</sup> as book xxxii has been fully used down to section 141 (*praeluceat*), after which xxxi 93-97 has been added. Such displacements are not very common, though a few others have been noticed. The books excerpted are in their

<sup>1</sup> References are to the Teubner edition, Mayhoff, 1892-1909, except where otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes* xxxii (1897), p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in *Jahresbericht der klass. Altertumswiss.* 231, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> My best thanks are due to the officials of the Bibl. Nat. for having the MS. transferred to Paris, and to Professor Souter, Aberdeen, who arranged the transfer.

<sup>5</sup> So Rück as quoted in *Jahresb.*, *supra cit.*



order—ii, iii-vi (not divided into books, but with three headings in red ink *ex libro tertio descriptio totius orbis, de toto orbe, descriptio Asiae*, v 38), vii-xxi, xxv, xxii-xxiii, xxix, xxxi-xxxii, i.e. 26 books of the printed edition. The quantity of the excerpts extends from eight folios on books ii and x to two on xxi and xxii; their quality also varies considerably. Up to book xx they in general preserve the order of the printed text, but from that point there are many displacements, chiefly due to the efforts of the scribe to bring together related facts: e.g. in the medical books, after mentioning a plant, he deals at once with its medicinal uses, instead of, as Pliny has done, lumping all the plants together and then describing their curative properties. One might suppose from this that the scribe was very thoroughly acquainted with Pliny, did not the fact that he often breaks off in the middle of a sentence to resume at some later point suggest a doubt as to whether he really understood his author. Detlefsen<sup>1</sup> remarks that all excerptors seem to have found the *N.H.* difficult, and this one is no exception. I examined in full books ii, vii-ix, xi, xv-xvii, xx-xxii, xxxi-xxxii.

In endeavouring to assess the critical value of these excerpts one naturally begins by comparing the readings with MSS. of the *ordo uett.*, although, in the main, the books collated have been of purpose rather those where the better MSS. tradition was weak or non-existent. From ii 196, where A begins, to the end of the book I found no readings confined only to A and the excerptor,<sup>2</sup> but the following may be noted: 209 *gaviensi* AF<sup>20</sup>, *circumferuntur* Ad<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>Top, 217 *totum* in AE<sup>2</sup>dopy, 222 *liquator* Aop; the second hands F<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup> of the *codd. rec.* are regarded as generally embodying the older MSS. tradition, and the others quoted have similar affinities, except T. With M in xi the following readings not in other MSS. are shared: 7 *spiritum* (F<sup>2</sup>l), 9 *insectis* (also in l, a MS. connected with older MSS., to be discussed later), 28 *fit*, 199 *incipiens*, 209 *funeris* (F<sup>2</sup>R<sup>2</sup>), 282 *quam* in; in xv there are none in common apart from the other MSS. With B in xxxii agree 20 *polluerent*, 52 *lien*, 68 *utiliter* (E<sup>2</sup>), 98 *cineres* (of line 14), 139 *torpedis*. The second hand in B has been condemned by Mayhoff (vol. v, appendix, p. 481) as a corrector who had no MS. before him; but it may be observed, even if inconclusive of anything, that the excerptor shares with him alone the readings 36 *uespere*, 41 *aeneco*, 70 *ratione*, 81 *dentes* (l. 21), 94 *urinam*, 104 *clysteri*; the excerptor also has 35 *aduersius* of d, B<sup>3</sup> (regarded as a later correction). It will be seen from its resemblances to A, M, and B that n has some claim to be connected with the older MSS. tradition. This is reinforced by a comparison with the excerpts o, y, and with the second hands of D, F, R, E (*codd. rec.*), which have been already mentioned as showing affinities with the *codd. uett.*, though sometimes embodying mere guesses of the correctors. The following are some typical cases of agreement: ii 11 *in sua* E<sup>2</sup>, *unam* op, 35 *facilius* F<sup>2</sup>op, 40 *plena* E<sup>2</sup>py, 45 *percussa aqua* F<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>opz, 46 *cernantur* F<sup>2</sup>R<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>py, 157 *eluitur* o, 175 *ordimur* opz, vii 3 *dementiam* F<sup>2</sup>o, 42 *sternuisse* F<sup>2</sup>o, 45 *aegre partos* E<sup>2</sup>o, 47 *enecata* oz, 121 *matri* R<sup>2</sup>o, 133 *familia* F<sup>2</sup>o, 167 *nimirum* F<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>, 175 *sequitur* E<sup>2</sup>, 180 *frequenter* E<sup>2</sup>oz; I confine myself in succeeding books to the readings accepted into the text: viii 45 *tradit* E<sup>2</sup>o, 48 *adloquio* F<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>, 82 *careat* F<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>z, 97 *eiecto* o, 111 *stelliones* o, 138 *metu melibus* F<sup>2</sup>o, 142 *homini* F<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>o, 153 *neruo* E<sup>2</sup>, 163 *utrimque* F<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>, 165 *innasci* F<sup>2</sup>, 171 *admonet* F<sup>2</sup>; ix 6 *afflatum* E<sup>2</sup>, 13 *incursuque* E<sup>2</sup>, *rostris* E<sup>2</sup>, *defendere* E<sup>2</sup>, 45 *germaniae amne* R<sup>2</sup>z, 83 *uelut anchoris* E<sup>2</sup>, 86 *complexu* E<sup>2</sup>, 100 *uersa* R<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>, 177 *calore* F<sup>2</sup>, 184 *fulgere* E<sup>2</sup>z, 185 *si* R<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>; xi 17 *praeter* F<sup>2</sup>, 54 *migraturo* F<sup>2</sup>, *quaque* F<sup>2</sup>, 83 *discit* F<sup>2</sup>, 208 *ilia* F<sup>2</sup>R, 229 *crassa* F<sup>2</sup>; xvi 39 *quas* D<sup>2</sup>, 40 *uisu* D<sup>2</sup>, 93 *aequinoctiali* D<sup>2</sup>, 98 *nimia* D<sup>2</sup>, 102 *peragatur et iam* D<sup>2</sup>, 189 *uitiatur* D<sup>2</sup>, 221 *uitri* D<sup>2</sup>; xvii 105 ii,

<sup>1</sup> *Hermes*, *supra cit.*

<sup>2</sup> I refer to the excerpts as n. Mayhoff does not seem to have used this letter, though edd.

between them have exhausted all the letters of the alphabet.

224 ut E<sup>2</sup>, 260 calx D<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup>. Thus a close relationship with D<sup>2</sup>, F<sup>2</sup>, R<sup>2</sup>, E<sup>2</sup> has been established in the books for which these hands are available, likewise also with y, o, the excerpts, and with z and p, the former of which Mayhoff affirms bears a likeness to F<sup>2</sup> and the latter to E<sup>2</sup>o.

But although n may thus have affinities with the *codd. nett.*, this might merely mean that it depended on one of the *recentiores* which had been corrected at some time. The *codd. recc.* are divided into two families, but a careful examination has failed to show that the excerpts incline in a preponderating degree to either. While xv clearly agreed closely with E of the second family against F of the first, xvi, xvii, xx-xxi showed an equal division between both families. Moreover, there is another consideration which would seem to invalidate the conclusion that n is descended from the common archetype of the *codd. recc.* or a corrected copy of it. In all existing MSS. of the *recc.* ii-v are confused by the displacement of some quaternions. While I did not collate the text of these books I examined them for the displacement, fully described by Detlefsen,<sup>1</sup> and found not the slightest evidence of it. It should be noted that this displacement occurs in Dicuil,<sup>2</sup> and therefore goes back to before 825. Detlefsen<sup>3</sup> also describes a displacement and repetition in two of the first family of the *codd. recc.* which begins from xxxi 118, but there is no trace of this in the excerpts, as the passage of xxxi introduced at the end of xxxii (*vid. supra*) occurs before 118. Among the complete MSS. for the early books which do not show the displacement in ii-v is the *codex Arundelianus* (l). This MS. was originally referred to the second family of the *recc.*, but Mayhoff later classed it with those which *ad ordinem vetustiorum uariis propinquitatis gradibus redeunt* (readings selected from l and quoted in Teubner show some agreement with the excerpts xi 30 *aquae zp*; xvi 1 *ferreae*, 54 *fumum*, 70 *cortice*, 94 *e promptis*). There is one slight piece of evidence which may be regarded as contradictory and confusing, viz. the omissions. While omissions in an excerptor are to be expected and may have little importance, still they may be disquieting. It happens that in E, the most important of the second family of *codd. recc.*, iii 38-70, iii 131-iv 6, vi 88 to end of book are missing in the first hand, the missing parts being supplied by the second hand except vi 148-152, which are by a third. In n iii 38-70 and vi 148-152 are wanting, all the rest being complete; it is noticeable that the same position in essentials holds for o; the accident, if such it be, of the partial resemblance to E is at least curious. Thus, by its independence of the main lines of the *codd. recc.* as well as by its affinities with the *codd. nett.*, it may be claimed that n has some critical value of its own.

On this account it may be interesting to see what light it throws on MS. Q, the value of which has been seriously disputed. It consists of excerpts from xix and xx, and was once the property of Claudius Salmasius, who used it freely to emend Pliny. Modern editors have in turn approved or condemned it. For these two books there are no MSS. of the older class: the only help consists of *variae lectiones* S written in the margin of the copy of Gelenius' edition in the Barberini Library.<sup>4</sup> I give the readings common to Q and the excerpts in xx, 11 *molliunt*, 46 *et*, 48 *augeri* (d), 52 *gargarizari*, 254 *oculorumque*, 256 *necat* (d), 264 *tusa, singuli*. With S I found only xx 14 *tutissime* common apart from other hands. It will be seen that the pretensions of Q thus receive some further support.

It has long been recognized that the tradition of the older and better MSS. has been preserved, though obscured by an ever-increasing number of errors, in the readings of the older editions through intermediate MSS. now unknown to us. It can be clearly shown that n was closely connected with a MS. of this class, and perhaps the most important service performed by it is that it gives MS. support to a

<sup>1</sup> *Rheinisches Museum* xv, p. 368 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes, supra cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rh. M.* xv, p. 374 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Now incorporated in the Vatican Library.

large number of readings which have been accepted as the *lectio vulgata*, but which if put into the text by the Teubner editor are in italics as not in the MSS. collated by him for the text at those points. They are naturally most common in the books where good MS. tradition is absent or slight. I also add some readings which, though not in Teubner, have met with the approval of earlier editors:

ii 120 *etiam*; vii 161 *appellant*; viii 28 *possint*, 91 *ad* (l 7), 121 *recessu*, 150 *rotatum*, 199 *ymbros* (*ymbros* actually in n), 205 *quibusdam*—in other edd. 223 *sorices* (Sillig).

ix 14 *nice inuersae* (*in* has been added above the line in n), 16 *habentes*, 59 *branchias*, 97 *uocantur*, 103 *densata*, 108 *et purgantur*, 114 *collisu*, 147 *marcenti similis*, 166 *terra* (Gelenius)—in other edd. 21 *agunt* (Gelenius), 85 *est polyfis* (S).

xi 23 *haerent*, 100 *scorpioni*, 108 *hae* (Gel.<sup>2</sup>), 110 *dubitet om. et*, 137 *genere*, 138 *huc* (Gel.), 146 *uidemur* (DE ?), *caligante* (DE ?)—in other edd. 71 *cetera* (ed. *Lugdunensis* 1563, S), 111 *terrae* (Detlefsen), 214 *in iuuenta* (ed. *Basileensis*, S).

xv 89 *mollis*, 108 *aguae* (*saporem*)—in other edd. 80 *uolant* (Ian), 98 *est* (Basil, S).

xvi 16 *optinent*, 17 *notam*, 30 *ferunt* (not *serunt*, confirmed by capital F), 38 *quae ferunt*, 67 *ligno*, 71 *flore* (Gel.), 85 *appellatur*, 143 *has*, 185 *sicut sunt*—in other edd., 15 *glandes* (S), 245 *in utroque* (Gel.).

xvii 12 *amissione*, 13 *moriuntur*, 29 *perite fodiat*, 34 *canescentis*, 39 *ex*, 61 *fimo* (ed. *Alexandri Benedicti*), 63 *palam*, 64 *auolsione*, 106 *aut retorridum*, 109 *plantario*, 153 *dexterum*, 173 *concipit et*, 225 *perfundunt*, 228 *tepores*, 247 *marcescit* (Basil), 266 *mala ne* (*ne mala* in Teubner)—in other edd. 43 *manus ususque* (S).

xx 16 *motus*, 43 *cum* (Gel.), 89 *et fluentes*, 104 *ex*, 110 *extenuat* (Verc.), 118 *suci*, 123 *haustum*, *atramento* (ed. *Io Caesarii*), 166 *prodest*, 174 *piperitis*, 176 *ruptanti*, 217 *ad*, 228 *ambustis*, *oleo* (l 10), 229 *tussi*, 249 *anginas*, 254 *exuendo*, 257 *contrita*—in other edd. 17 *recentes* (S *recentis* as acc. pl.), 40 *instillauere* (l 9 *coni. Dalecampius*), 47 *inflationem* (*Io Caes.*), 54 *uel purulenta* (Gel.), 95 *si occupent* (S), 110 *extenuat* (Verc.), 113 *breuioris* (S), 207 *diacodion* (*Barbarus*, S), 210 *portulaca* (*Barb.*), 224 *restringunt et ut*, 264 *uino* (*Plin. iun. Gargil.*).

xxi 142 *solutur*, 160 *conuulsis ruptis* (Mayhoff, reverse order)—in other edd. 80 *alucaria* (S), 125 *utiis* (l 15) (S), 148 *illita* (S), 151 *recens* (S).

xxii 72 *decoctae*, 99 *si usique* (Mayhoff, reverse order), 144 *pulmoni est*, 153 *contritae*, 156 *emendant*.

xxxi 5 *in baiano*, 65 *colorem*, 67 *sextarius* (V<sup>2</sup>d, and *sextariis* l 13)—in other edd. 36 *fontes qui* (S), 42 *deuerticulo* (S), 120 *linguae* (vet. Dal., S).

xxxii 77 *callionymi*—in other edd. 88 *remoueantur* (Gel., S), 91 *castoreum* (*Io Caes.*), 127 *carne* (S).

There are also a few conjectures of modern editors which have proved to be the reading of n: xi 5 *inessent* (Jan), xv 89 *hae* (Detlefsen), xvi 41 *crassiora* (Detl.), 64 *demittere* (Mayhoff), xvii 61 *infestatur* (Detl.), xx 30 *arida* (May.), 232 *radix* (Detl., but not retained by Mayhoff), 253 *urinam ciet* (Ian), xxxi 24 *singulis diebus* (Detl., but not retained by Mayhoff), 74 *sole* (Sillig *cum Pontedera ex Isid.* xvi 2-3, not kept).

Like the other excerptors, therefore, n had a MS. connected in some degree with the *codd. nett.*, and of the type which seems to have been used considerably by the early editors.

D. J. CAMPBELL.

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## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

### LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

**American Journal of Philology.** LII. 2. April-June, 1931.

F. A. Wood: *Prothetic Vowels in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Germanic*. Argues that in many seemingly simple words the initial vowel is not part of the stem, and that modifications of the original meaning can be traced on this principle: illustrates by examples from the different languages. J. S. Ryberg: *Was the Capitoline Triad Etruscan or Italic?* Using the *Capitolium Vetus* as starting-point, suggests that the association of three deities was already an element in Roman religion in pre-Etruscan days, so that, while the form of the Capitoline Triad is foreign, its original inspiration is native to Italy. R. B. Steele: *The Date of Manilius*. From an examination of various passages, dealing with (a) seemingly specific historical allusions, (b) Manilius' use of Ovid, and (c) allusions, direct or indirect, to members of the Imperial family, concludes that the *Astronomica* was written under Augustus. M. T. Herrick: *A Supplement to Cooper and Gudeman's Bibliography of the Poetics of Aristotle*. Adds seventy-four new items, ranging in date from 1562-1930, and a list of *addenda et corrigenda* in the original references. E. B. Lease: *The Ablative Absolute Limited by Conjunctions*. An addendum to the writer's previous article (*A.J.P.* XLIX., pp. 348 sqq.) giving further examples. J. W. Bennett: *Spenser's Hesiod*. Attempts to show that for his account of the Nereids Spenser used the verse translation of the *Theogony* (by Boninus Mombricitus) published in the Basle Hesiod of 1542.

LII. 3. July-September, 1931.

A. Fossum: *Hapax Legomena in Plato*. Attempts to date the Dialogues by the relative frequency of such words, and to use the order thus established to trace the development of Plato's philosophy. A. Cameron: *Latin Words in the Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor*. A list, designed as complementary to Meinersmann's compilation from the Papyri, with special notes on a few words such as *macellum* and *peculium*. C. W. Keyes: *Syntaximon and Laographia in the Arsinoite Nome*. On the basis of the Columbia and Princeton Papyri suggests that both these were poll taxes, the only difference being that the *syntaximon* was paid (at a higher rate) by the native Egyptians. H. N. Couch: *Three Puns on the Root of πέρθω in the Persae of Aeschylus*. Holds that in the three passages in which this verb occurs (vv. 65, 176-8, and 714) there is a deliberate play on the sound and meaning of Πέρσαι. H. V. M. Dennis: *Hipponensis or Hipponiensis*. Concludes that the *Mss* tradition should always be followed, as there is no evidence to decide that one form was preferred to the other. T. Frank: *Pliny H.N. XIV. 95. Quadrantal*. Argues that *quadrantalia* makes nonsense of the passage, and that we should read (*singulos*) *quartarios* (small measures about a gill each).

LII. 4. October-December, 1931.

D. L. Drew: *Euripides' Alcestis*. Re-estimates the play on the assumption that it was a dead body, not a living woman, which Herakles brought back to Admetus. G. E. Duckworth: *ΠΡΟΑΝΑΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ in the Scholia to Homer*. Praises the scholia for their appreciation of this device and the information it affords on the standard of aesthetic criticism among the ancients. H. E. Mierow: *Euripides' Artistic Development*. Treats its theme under three heads (a) Euripides' debt to Aeschylus, (b) V. Wilamowitz's mistaken appraisal, (c) the blended realism and romance of the

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poet's own character as a key to his career. H. V. Canter: *Digressio in the Speeches of Cicero*. Discusses Cicero's use of *digressio* in relation to (1) the extent, contents, and purpose of the digressions themselves, and (2) the type of speech, place, and manner in which they are inserted. H. Comfort: *Problems in Aristophanes' Vespa* 818-23. Considers (a) the division of these lines among the speakers, (b) the meaning of *χαλερός* and *ὄπλα*, (c) the nature of the Lycus-'icon,' concluding it to be a Herm.

#### Athenaeum. IX. Vol. 1.

H. J. Rose discusses the connexion of Roman temples with the people of the Terremare culture. Under eight heads he sets forth the contention of J. Patroni which asserts that the inhabitants of the old *oppida* were bronze-users, that there is no orientation, that the plan differs from that of the temples, and that their use was civil not religious. R. questions these dogmatic conclusions, also some of the facts. Referring to Dr. Warde Fowler, he defends another view with regard specially to burial rites, and the religious culture generally, and holds that a continuity is not improbable.

E. Martini discusses *Georg.* I. 437, which is an imitation of a verse of Parthenius. Two forms of the original are given by Gellius and by Macrobius. M. gives reasons for accepting the quotation by Gellius as the more accurate, and for ascribing the original verse to the '*Propemptikon*' of Parthenius.

A. Todesco quotes from ancient and modern orators to show that in the relation of clauses to each other the length of the parts is dependent on the rise or fall of the energy and emotion of the whole passage.

C. Gallavotti notes the influence of a treatise of the first century *περὶ ὕψους* on the anonymous Dialogue *De Oratoribus*, sometimes attributed to Tacitus. But on the ground of the general conception of the function of oratory of the age, supported by parallels in Pliny's Letters, C. prefers to assign the dialogue to Pliny.

E. Cesareo continues his essays on the famous passage in the proem to *Georg.* I. 5-23, dissenting from Wissowa. With many digressions on points of style and the poet's allusions to Greek and Alexandrine precursors, he examines the first part of the second half of the proem. He distinguishes between the actually recognized gods who are invoked in the first half, and the tentative suggestions of a future godhead which Octavian may in the end achieve. In the details of the different alternatives of land, sea, and sky he traces resemblances to Alexandrine models such as appear in Catullus (e.g. 66, 63 sqq.).

M. Baratta, arguing from the nature of the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, the direction of the lava-streams and the cinders and dust that fell on Pompeii and Herculaneum, and from the probable mode of death of the elder Pliny, as recorded by the younger, concludes that Pliny died of suffocation on the shores of Herculaneum.

#### Vol. 2.

G. Perrotta, treating of Catullus *Carm.* 64, dissents from two eminent scholars who regard this poem as a translation, and a combination of two sources—the story of Peleus and Thetis, and the love of Ariadne and Theseus. He follows Wilamowitz in holding that Catullus was original in his treatment of both stories, though owing some minor traits to the Alexandrines.

E. Cesareo (continued) on *Georg.* I. 36 sqq. finds further support in the opening words, *quidquid eris*, and in the curious suggestion that Tartarus will not behold Octavian with Pluto and Proserpine.

#### Vol. 3.

G. Patroni attacks the views of a French scholar Villay, and a Prague architect, V. Sejk, who reject the site of Hissarlik for Troy. Dörpfeld had already demolished

these 'discoveries,' but Patroni underlines his dissension, finding further support for the orthodox view as to Troy and the Achaean camp in a line of Homer's—*λεία δ' ἐποίησεν παρ' ἀγάρροον Ἑλλήσποντον* (Ω 30) which fits the topography of the bay of Besika-Tepeh with its legendary tomb of Achilles and Patroclus.

L. Bartoli, writing on the two extant codices of the *Carmen* of Rutilius Namatianus, which he thinks are based on an archetype (now destroyed), gives the palm to the Vienna edition. The second (*Romanus*) was found in 1880 and published in *Rhein. Museum* in 1896. The mistakes due to one or other of the three writers in the latter are not such as to mislead the expert palaeographer. He quotes some unnecessary (as he thinks) emendations and completions of lacunae, and offers some suggestions of his own.

### Classical Philology. XXVI. 3. July, 1931.

E. M. Sandford, *Lucan and his Roman Critics*: traces the history of the controversy whether L. was poet or historian from Petronius (who she thinks was parodying a Eumolpus rather than L.) to the medieval writers and examines its bearing on the principles of Roman literary criticism. Jefferson Elmore, *Horace and Octavian*: dates *Od.* I. 2 to the end of 30 B.C., between the fall of Alexandria and the settlement of the Parthian question, and suggests that it was written in anticipation of O.'s triple triumph. H. does not intend identification of O. with Mercury, but only a symbolic association—'Mercury is Octavian writ large.' O. L. Wilner, *Inorganic Roles in Roman Comedy*: examines the methods and technique of characterization of protatic and other minor roles. D. M. Rowbotham, *Two Unreported Persius Manuscripts*: gives collations of R (Vat. Reg. Lat. 1562: saec. x/xi) and Reg. (Vat. Reg. Lat. 1424: saec. xii in.), which have hardly any significant variants but provide evidence for a class of MSS. belonging to the 'mixed tradition,' but (unlike Ramorino's λ MSS.) inclining more to the P than to the α family. G. M. A. Grube, *The Cleitophon of Plato*: concludes in favour of Platonic authorship and a date between *Rep.* I. and *Rep.* II. *Cleit.* is an answer to *Rep.* I.—P's own criticism of the presentation of Socrates in the earlier works—which is developed in the beginning of *Rep.* II. and answered in the rest of the *Republic*. H. T. Wade-Gery, *Strategoi in the Samian War*: prints for the first time frag. d of *I.G.* I<sup>2</sup>. 50 and suggests restorations in the list of strategoi of 439 given in fragments a and d. G. M. Bolling, *Homeric Notes*: (1) β 203 for ἵσα read ἰσσα (ICA in the sixth-century archetype); (2) E 249 ἐφ' ἵππων, 'towards the horses,' is explained by taking χαζώμεθα as a plural of courtesy = χαίεο. H. N. Couch, *Proskynesis and Abasement in Aeschylus*: examines the suggestion of passages in which abasement before gods and men is implied. J. E. Dunlap, *Tribal Boundaries in Belgic Gaul*: criticizes Rice Holmes for assigning the whole diocese of Laon to the Remi, and suggest that parts of it should be assigned to the Suessiones and the Viromandui. J. A. O. Larsen on *C.I.L.* 10. 7599 (Dessau 6763) shows that *quinquennalis perpetuus* is a possible title which municipalities may have taken over from guilds, which used it as an honorary title for ex-presidents. Paul Shorey resolves the contradiction alleged by Wilamowitz between *Plato Soph.* 236c and *Laws* 668a sqq.: the distinction in *Soph.* is introduced for the special purpose of disparaging the sophist; in *Laws* (as in *Crit.* 107b) he equates μέγιστος and ἀπεικασία—a natural mode of expression which is paralleled in Aristotle. H. C. Montgomery proposes restorations in *I.G.* II.<sup>2</sup> 966b, 21-35 (Panathenaic list). H. V. M. Denni compares the last sonnet of Du Bellay's *Antiquités de Rome* with *Hor. Od.* III. 30 and *Anth. Lat.* I. 418.

### Hermathena. XLVI. (1931).

The articles on Latin and Greek subjects in this number are the following: L. C. Purser, *Notes on the Panegyrici Latini*. These have been prepared in reference

to the new Teubner text of 1911 in which W. Baehrens revised his father's edition of 1874. H. W. Parke, *The Evidence for Harmosts in Laconia*. In Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3 5 sq. the Ephors, learning of Cinadon's conspiracy, send him on a feigned mission to Aulon. Here he was to be arrested, and the Ephors were so anxious to hear the result of the stratagem ὥστε καὶ μόραν ἱππέων ἐπεμψαν τοῖς ἐπ' Αὐλώνας. P. thinks τοῖς ἐπ' Α. = 'those in charge of A.,' i.e. the officer or officers on the spot. Further, the Ephors told Cinadon to return ἀγοντα τῶν εἰλώτων τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. The σκυτάλη, P. thinks, must have been a message to be delivered to an official at Aulon. The only Spartan official in Laconia of whom we have any evidence is the harmost. Thucydides does not use the word ἄρμοστής, but P. finds several references in his work to the officer. P. also discusses Schol. Pind. *Ol.* VI, 154, ἦσαν δὲ ἄρμοσται Λακεδαιμονίων εἰκόσιν. K. C. Bailey, *Further Notes on the Historia Naturalis of Pliny*. Seeks to explain some obscure statements in P.'s work by reference to modern chemical knowledge, and incidentally to experiments carried out by himself in order to test the accuracy of P.'s statements. W. H. Porter, *Aratus in Corinth*. Deals with a number of topographical references in Plutarch's *Aratus* in the light of the archaeological discoveries of the past thirty years. E. H. Alton, *De Nuntio Sagaci*. Supplies a new text of this medieval poem from a MS. at Holkham unknown to the previous editors Jahnke and Lehmann. He discusses the relation of this MS. to those used by J. and L. On the question whether the poem is complete or not he decides in the affirmative, but suggests that the last line 'Illa ferit pugno, Davus ferit inde secundo' had originally 'fugit' for 'ferit' and 'primo' for 'secundo.' The alternative title, 'Ovidius puellarum,' is properly the name given to a series of 'contes drolatiques' of which *De Nuntio Sagaci* is the sole survivor. J. Johnston, *Chronological Note on the Expedition of Leotyichidas to Thessaly*. This expedition led to the banishment of L. on the charge of having received bribes from the Aleuadae. We know that L. succeeded Demaratus in 491 (Hdt. VI, 71) and reigned twenty-two years (Diod. XI, 48). Hence he ceased to reign in 469. It has been supposed therefore that this is the date of his Thessalian expedition. J. argues that this date is impossible for various reasons, and in particular because Pausanias III, 7, 9 implies a date shortly after the battle of Mycale. He suggests the hypothesis that Leotyichidas was exiled about 476 but remained nominally king till his death in 469, when his grandson Archidamus, who had ruled *de facto* during the interval, became king *de iure*. E. H. Alton, *Who wrote the Hermaphroditus?* This poem, much admired during the Renaissance, was assigned to various authors, and Riese in 1870 was confident that it had come down from antiquity. In a grammatical treatise (*Lond. Mus. Brit. Add.* 16380 foll. 111-119vb), A. found a note on Ovid *Met.* IX, 747 in which reference was made to a verse 'Magistri Hildeberti,' et quod sum natus ermafroditus eram, evidently the fourth line of our epigram, derived from an older and better text than we possess. J. G. Smyly prints the *Index of a Nominale* from a fifteenth-century MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

#### Hermes. LXVI. 1. 1931.

W. Schadewaldt, *Bemerkungen zur Hecyra des Terenz*. Analyses various passages of the play to illustrate T.'s modifications of the work of Apollodorus and Menander and to demonstrate his dramatic technique.

K. Latte, *Beiträge zum Griechischen Strafrecht I*. Traces the principle of 'self-help' from the individual to the patriarchal sept, to the country group of neighbours, and to the aristocratic association of comrades; shows how in the developed state law traces of the privileges and duties of these groups still persist.

F. Lenz, *Aristidesstudien*. Discusses problems connected with the MSS. of Aristides, the grouping of the speeches in Tomoi, etc.

B. Snell, *Sappho's Gedicht Φαίρεται μοι κῆνος*. Compares Sappho's poem with

Catullus' version (XLIX [LI]); illustrates the difference between the archaic directness of S.'s Marriage Song with Catullus' more developed and self-conscious hymn of jealousy.

E. Hohl, *Zu Polybios XXXI. 12 f.* Discusses Laqueur's articles (*Hermes* LXV. p. 129 sq.); suggests that the difficulties in the narrative suggested by L. do not exist, and that P.'s narrative is clear and consistent; hence L.'s general conclusions as to P.'s historical technique are ill-founded.

W. Schwahn, *Das Bürgerrecht der Sympolitischen Bundesstaaten bei den Griechen*. Discusses questions concerning rights possessed by federal citizens in other constituent cities. Two views commonly held (1) that such had *ἐγκτησις* and *ἐπιγαμία*; (2) that they had no more rights than in a foreign city. Argues that federal citizenship implies full citizenship in all the constituent cities. Discusses honorary grants of full and partial rights and suggests tests by which their practical effects can be estimated.

MISZELLEN: Ch. Blinkenberg, *Gaurion, ein Ungetaufter Attischer Töpfer*. Pyxis at Copenhagen with signature read Gauris, then by comparison with B.M. piece, Maurion—both in fact Gaurion: W. Weinberger, *Zur Diktattheorie*: argues against Ohly's view that ancient books were not multiplied by dictation to scribes: O. Weinreich, *Nikostratos über Euripides, M. Haupt über Catull*: suggests that H.'s comment on Catullus 'in einem Distichon ein ganzes Menschenleben' is a reminiscence of a fragment of the younger (not the older) Comic poet: W. Peek, *Epigramm aus Arkhesine*: in *I.G.* XII (7). 117. suggests for *ἡ παντεβίτασιν ἰούσα—ἡ πάντ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι νέοντα*: A. Busse, *Zum Pindarzeit in Platons Gorgias*: discusses Geffcken's interpretation (*Hermes* LXV. pp. 14 sq.) of Plato *Gorg.* 484B.

LXVI. 2. 1931.

K. Latte, *Beiträge zum Griechischen Strafrecht II*. Traces the development of State law in relation to the principle of 'self-help'; discusses the various crimes dealt with by the State and the character of the punishments inflicted. F. Klingner, *Über das Lob des Landlebens in Virgils Georgica*. Discusses the poetical structure of *Georg.* II. 458-542 and expounds the development of V.'s philosophical conceptions.

A. Lesky, *Die Orestie des Aischylos*. Analyses the *Oresteia* to illustrate the dramatic technique of Aeschylus and to show the original element in his handling of the legend.

O. Schissel, *Zum Prologos des Platonikers Albinos*. Discusses the classification by A. of P.'s Dialogues; compares it with that of Diog. Laert. and suggests rearrangement of the text of A.

L. Ziehen, *Zum Opferritus*. Discusses the meaning of the phrase which occurs in Epheboi inscriptions (e.g. *I.G.* II. 467) *αἶρεσθαι τοὺς βοῦς*; decides on the evidence of coins, vases, etc., that the phrase is used literally, and that Stengel's explanation, that the dead or stunned beast was partially raised or hung up, is incorrect.

MISZELLEN: T. Th. Kakrides, *Ἀδμήτῳ Ἑραστραί*: suggests that myths relating to the *παιδικὸς ἔπος* of Apollo and Heracles for Admetus were the invention of Pindar: E. Bethe, *Parisurteil und Kyprien*: disputes Wilamowitz's interpretation of the Spartan ivory (*Hermes* LXV. p. 240 sq.) and rejects his conclusion as to the date of the *Cypria*.

LXVI. 3. 1931.

F. Solmsen, *Demetrios Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας und sein Peripatetisches Quellenmaterial*. Attempts from D.'s discussion of *ἐκλογή*, *σύνθεσις*, and *σχήματα* to reconstruct the Peripatetic teaching on style and its relation to that of Aristotle.

K. Ziegler, *Zu Text und Textgeschichte der Republik Ciceros*. (1) Discusses the question of corrections made by Cicero in his text; decides that where proved or probable these should be inserted in the text: (2) Shows that the continuous text of



the *Somnium Scipionis* in Macrobius MSS. does not go back to M., but was inserted later from another source: (3) Comments in detail on twenty-eight passages of the text of the *Republic*.

J. Lengle, *Die Verurteilung der Römischen Feldherrn von Arausio*. Shows that the condemnation of Caepio was effected by a *iudicium populi* not by the *Quaestio auri Tolosani* as Mommsen maintained: the *lex Appuleia maiestatis* of 103 B.C. established not the extra-ordinary Q.A.T. but a *Quaestio perpetua maiestatis*.

W. Peek, *Zu Griechischen Epigrammen aus Ägypten*. Comments on and emends Preisigke *Sammelbuch* I. 5873: 5829: III. 6160: 6178: I. 4312: Breccia, *Iscrizioni Greche e Latine* 279: 219: 320: 322: Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* 9203: Marshall, *Inscript. Brit. Mus.* IV. 2. 1084: Rev. *Épigr.* I. p. 145. 4: 5: Breccia *op. cit.* 321: 326.

W. Schwahn, *Boiotischen Stadtanleihen aus dem Dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Discusses three inscriptions (*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτικὸν* 1923, p. 182 sq.) dealing with loans made to the towns of Chorsiae and Acraephiae; examines the details, and draws conclusions as to the financial condition of Boeotia at the time.

J. Geffcken, *Menippos Περὶ θυσίων*. Collects information as to M.'s satire on this subject by consideration of passages from Lucian, Varro, Arnobius, etc., and discusses his attitude to the question of the morality of sacrifices.

O. Schroeder, *Zwei Interpretationen*. (1) *Über einen Abschnitt aus der Leichenrede des Perikles*. Discusses the clause καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν . . . οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εἰς ἀλλὰ δρωῦντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους. (2) *Über ein Kapitel aus Marcus Eis Ἐαυτόν*. Discusses the passage II. 11 ὡς ἤδη δυνατόν ὄντος ἐξίέναι τοῦ βίου, etc.

MISZELLEN: A. Grosskinsky, *Zu Herodots Periagese Libyens*: discusses Hdtus. IV. 186-191 and shows that H. here corrects a mistake of Hecataeus: A. Busse, *Nochmals das Pindarzitit in Platons Gorgias*: suggests a new meaning for βαιοῦν in the phrase βαιῶν τὸ δικαιοτάτον.

#### LXVI. 4. 1931.

Editorial memorial to Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (died 25. 9. 1931).

A. Mentz, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Römischen Stenographie*. Discusses the literary tradition as to the development; shows that this reveals four stages under Tiro, Vipsanius Philargyrus, Aquila (freedman of Maecenas), Seneca. Argues that the *Commentarii Notarum Tironianarum* is a compilation in four stages associable with these four men. Discusses some points of Greek shorthand.

E. Neustadt, *Der Zeus-hymnos des Kleantes*. Shows how closely the hymn adheres to the traditional hymn-type; discusses its context and its relation to the philosophy of Heraclitus.

A. E. Housman, *Praefanda*. Discusses (in Latin) Catullus 56. 5-7: *Priap.* 21: 37. 3-12: 52: 69: 80: Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* I. 167: Persius IV. 33-6: *C.I.L.* IV. 2. 360: Martial II. 83: IV. 17: VI. 36: VII. 35. 1-6: XI. 58: Suet. *Tib.* 41. 1: *Dom.* 22: *De Gramm.* 23: Appul. *Asclep.* 21.

K. Kerényi, *Zum Verständnis von Aeneis B. VI*. Discusses (1) Norden's suggestion of a contradiction between the two orders of the Sibyl to obtain the Bough, and to offer the sacrifice; shows that all is correct and in keeping with the mystic conceptions of V.'s age; (2) the Golden Bough; argues that V. took this from a myth of the descent into Hades of Demeter, for which there is early evidence; (3) the Mistletoe—this introduced by V. both for realistic and mystic-magical significance; (4) the Descent and the Return; (5) the Cosmic element in V.'s account—shows how the narrative is consistent with the conception of a spherical form of the universe.

A. Körte, *Der Demeter-Hymnos des Philikos*. Gives a revised text with comments of the papyrus published by Norsa and Gavallotti in *Stud. Ital. di Filol. Class.* IX. (1931) 37 sq. Discusses the contents of the poem as far as they are recoverable.

H. Drexler, *Nachträge zur Kyrenesage*. Discusses the views of Studniczka, Malten, and Pasquali on the origin and form of the legend, and makes further suggestions.

MISZELLEN: C. Wendel, *Δημαρέτης*: shows that the historian called Δημάρατος in Jacoby *F. Gr. Hist.* 42, is more correctly called Δημαρέτης: R. Laqueur, *Was Heisst Θερμότητα*: argues that the usual translation of the word (once found, in Callisthenes *ap. Strabo*) 'Oracle' or 'Oracular answer' is wrong; real meaning is 'Processional hymn': W. Kroll, *Der Tod des Naevius*: shows that the tradition of N.'s death in exile at Utica is impossible and infers from *Com.* 108 f. that Scipio took N. as his client with him on the African expedition: O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmentum* 56: emends κρῆναιον to κρῆναιον and supports the change by quotations: W. Peek, *Drei Griechische Epigramme*: publishes and comments on two unpublished inscriptions from Attica; comments on *Fouilles de Delphes III. 1, p. 243, no. 523*: E. Köstermann, *Incipiens Princeps*: argues that in *Tac. Ann.* I. 19 in the phrase, *in tempore incipientis principis curas*, etc., *incipientis* is genitive singular not accusative plural; quotes parallels in support.

Litteris. VII. 2. 1930.

Reviews: W. Heraeus on E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*. G. Rudberg on R. Munz, *Poseidonios und Strabon*. A. Momigliano on W. Schadewaldt, *Die Geschichtsschreibung des Thucydides*.

VII. 3. 1930.

M. P. Nilsson on F. Chapoutier, *Les écritures Minoënnes au palais du Mallia*. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff on D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*. A. Cuny on H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik I-V* (unfavourable). A. Meillet on H. F. Muller, *A Chronology of Vulgar Latin*.

Mnemosyne. LIX. 1. (1931.)

This number is devoted to an edition of Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, by J. G. P. Borleffs. This work was formerly known only through the Paris edition of A.D. 1545 made from a MS. now lost. In 1916, however, D. Wilmart found in the library at Troyes a MS., which among other works contains this treatise of Tertullian. On this B. has based his edition. The new MS. seems to belong to a different recension from that on which the Paris edition is based. It has even been suggested that Tertullian himself published two separate editions of the work. B. appends to his edition an *Index Scripturae* and an *Index Verborum*.

LIX. 2. (1931.)

K. Sprey, *De C. Sallustio Crispo, Homine Popolari*. The *Epistulae ad Caesarem Senem De Republica* are now generally admitted to be genuine: only the second remains subject to doubt on account of the following passage: 'at herculem Catonem L. Domitio ceterisque eiusdem factionis XL senatores mactati sunt.' In this corrupt passage S. proposes, 'at herculem Catonem,' to read 'at hercule incassum.' He then proceeds to examine the views expressed in these letters. Sallust, he concludes, was a moderate democrat who supported Caesar in the hopes that he would restore the old constitution with safeguards, which would enable it to function in practice as it was supposed to do in theory, by removing those influences which gave birth and wealth an excessive importance, by founding colonies, and enrolling new citizens. Sallust failed however to see that what the constitution lacked was the presence of an element possessing 'sovereignty.' W. J. W. Koster publishes excerpts from Choeroboscus, Aetherius, Philoponus and others 'On Accentuation,' and adds a commentary. W. E. J. Kuiper, *De Menandri Adulatore*, points out that as long as the fragments in *pap. Oxyrhynch.* 409 were supposed to be

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continuous, no progress could be made in ascertaining the nature of the plot. The edition of Jensen sets forth much better than previous editions the course of the dialogue and its division between the speakers. K. discusses three questions: (1) What relation exists in the *Colax* between the 'miles' and the parasite whom Terence transferred from this comedy into his *Eunuchus*; (2) who are the masters of the two houses on the stage; (3) what part is played in the comedy by the *paedagogus* Davus? J. D. Meerwaldt, *De Communi in Priamum et Troiam Epilogo*, deals with Virg. *Aen.* II. 554, 'Haec . . . finis Priami . . . iacet ingens litore truncus, Avolumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.' M.'s argument is a reasoned defence of the allegorical view of the passage which Schickinger incidentally threw out in *Wiener Studien* XXVIII. (1906) 165-7: 'Mit *truncus* ist das herrenlose und seiner hauptstadt beraubte Reich des Priamus bezeichnet: *caput* ist Pergama: *humeri* sind die umliegenden Landschaften.' M. adds a section 'de huius totius epilogi caractere pathetico et phonetico.' A. J. Kronenberg contributes notes on Plutarch's *Moralia*. F. Muller on Propertius IV. 11, 66: 'Vidimus et fratrem sellam geminasse curulem | consule quo facto tempore rapta soror,' thinks that the text is sound. The poet might have said 'qui (frater) quo tempore consul factus est rapta soror' or 'quo (fratre) consule facto (eo tempore) rapta soror (est).' *Quo* is to be taken twice over, (1) with *consule facto*, (2) with *tempore*.

**Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung.** VII. 5-7. 1931.

(5) E. Wolff, *Sophokles*. A comparison of Sophocles with Aeschylus, emphasizing Sophocles's psychological insight. (6) R. Laqueur, *Formengeschichtlichen Denkens im alten Orient und Okzident*. An analysis of early Oriental documents, which are explained as primarily self-justifications addressed by kings to gods. Hittite documents show a new element, the conscious desire to conciliate the aristocracy, and the Assyrian kings aimed chiefly, with the aid of realistic sculpture, at terrifying their subjects. Laqueur draws interesting comparisons and contrasts between the treatment of these documents by pre-Alexandrian Oriental annalists and the methods followed by Greek and Roman historians. (7) F. Schachermeyr, *Die Etruskologie und ihre wichtigsten Probleme*. A discussion of the origins of the Etruscans, decisively accepting their arrival from Asia Minor, in the early tenth century, and again about 800 and about 700 B.C.: a far from enthusiastic estimate of the importance of their art, minimizing the influence of the Etruscan race on the Italian Renaissance; and a detailed examination of their influence on Rome, ascribing to Etruscan conquerors the union of Esquiline and Palatine, followed by the drainage and populating of the Forum, but deriving from the Italian element the most important Roman characteristics.

**Philological Quarterly (Iowa).** X. 4. 1931.

E. L. Highbarger: *Repeated Verses in Classical Poetry with Particular Reference to the Theognidea*. 'The poet evidently wished to impress certain important teachings upon the mind of his young friend, since the repeated verses often have the address to Cyrnus or repeat earlier verses that have that address.'

**Revue de Philologie.** LVII. 3.

M. Holleaux, *Notes sur Tite-Live*: the difference between Livy 33. 11 and Polybius 18. 33. 8 sqq. is one not of facts but of emphasis. Perhaps Livy wished to direct attention from T. Quinctius' high-handedness. Ch. Picard, *Parrhasios (?) et les peintures du Dionysion neuf d'Athènes*, thinks Pausanias I. 20. 3 refers to six pictures, whose places inside the temple he tries to determine. Parrhasios may have been the artist. L. A. Constans, *Observations critiques sur quelques lettres de Cicéron: ad Att.* I. 1. 2 defends *Turium* (cf. *Brut.* 237); Q. Curius being only *quaestorius* in

64 could not have stood for the consulship in 65. *Ibid.* defends *ad quae*. I. 1. 5 for *eliu* suggests [*Aelius*], a gloss referring to *Panath.* 149. Discussion of what a *Hermathena* was; decides for a bust of *Athena* on a pillar. The only known statue of this type is in the Museo delle Terme, and might be *Cicero's*. I. 13. 6 reads [XXXIII] (3,300,000). II. 3. 2 for  $\Delta ITA$  suggests  $\Delta KTA$ . II. 5. 3 for *Cutio* reads *Atto* (i.e. *Q. Metellus Celer*). II. 14. 2 finds a meaning in *at quam partem basilicae? tribum Aemiliam*. II. 16. 4 *discedere* (sc. *in sententiam alius*) means 'vote without making a speech.' II. 22. 1 <*mansisses*> is unnecessary. II. 22. 7 [*Numerium*]. II. 24. 2 [*Cn.*]; discusses conspiracy of *Vettius*; reads *a. d. iii eius diei* for *a. d. iii. idus diei* and retains *cum* before *gladiatoribus*. Notes on III. 12. 3 and 17. 1. *Ad Fam.* XIII. 43, 44, 74, 73, 45, 46 are to be dated between April, 45 and March 15, 44. S. Lambrino, *Observations sur un nouveau diplôme militaire de l'Empereur Claude*, gives a full commentary.

**Rivista di Filologia.** N.S. IX. (1931) 3.

A. Rostagni, *I primordii dell' evoluzione spirituale di Virgilio*. V. *Virgilio e Lucrezio*. Vergil moved to Naples about 47 B.C., and of this there are records in *Catalepton* II, IV and V. The rhetoric which he abandons in the last of these is in particular the Asianism of the kind professed at this time by *Epidius*. Vergil was now under the influence of *Lucretius*—an influence first seen in the *Culex* of the year before, though in that poem *Lucretius* is responsible rather for the trend of Vergil's interests than for his positive beliefs: the doctrine of the *Culex* is not Epicurean. VI. *La scuola epicurea di Napoli*. The author first sketches the history of Epicureanism in Italy down to this time, and then discusses the distinguished company which sat with Vergil at the feet of *Siro* and *Philodemus*. Vergil took his philosophical studies seriously, and their effects are to be seen in all his later work. G. De Sanctis, *Una lettera a Demetrio Poliorcete*. The writer argues that in *P. Oxy.* 13 we have a fragment from some history of the *Diadochi*, perhaps the work of *Hieronymus of Cardia*, and that the letter in part preserved purports to have been addressed to *Demetrius Poliorcetes* by some Athenian—possibly *Stratocles*—about 293-1 B.C. A. Momigliano, *Studi sulla storiografia greca del IV sec. a. C.*: I. *Teopompo* (continued). The epitome of *Herodotus* was perhaps made after the completion of the *Hellenica*. In the *Philippica* there may be recognized the influence of *Herodotus*, of *Isocrates*, and of *Antisthenes*. *Herodotus*, besides suggesting the discursive method which *Theopompus* now adopted, provided material to support the panhellenic doctrines which he shared with *Isocrates*, and the cynicism of *Antisthenes* went to determine his attitude to *Sparta*. *Isocrates* was also responsible for the ill-omened introduction of a propagandist element into history. P. Treves, *Dopo Ipso* (concluded). The author carries his study of the political situation down to 294 B.C. and completes his account of *Lachares*. In an appendix on *La Symmachia tra Beoti, Etoli e Focesi rois mer' Aitolon* he criticizes the dating of this alliance (*S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> 366) proposed by M. Guarducci in *Rivista di Filologia*, 1930, pp. 329-333, and would place it shortly after *Ipsus*. C. Gallavotti, *Frammenti di un Ditirambo di Pindaro in una poesia bizantina*. On quotations from *Pindar* in a twelfth-century poem preserved in a *Laurentian MS.* (Acq. e doni 341, fol. 91<sup>v</sup>). Q. Cataudella, *Sopra alcuni concetti della poetica antica*. I. 'Απάτη. This is not 'illusione,' but rather 'seduzione.' II. Φιλανθρωπία del dramma. Evidence is collected to show that the meaning is something like 'sentimento di simpatia umana.' *Recensioni. Note bibliografiche. Pubblicazioni ricevute.*



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